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THE STORY OF THE NATIONS

Denmark and Sweden

with

Iceland and Finland

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By

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With a Preface by

Viscount Bryce, O.M.

With 33 Illustrations and 1 Map

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PREFACE

AMONG all the countries of Europe, it is with those of the Scandinavian North and with Holland that we in Britain are most nearly connected by blood, by religion, and by similarity of ideas and habits. Yet most of us in this country have very scant knowledge of the history of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, although the political relations of both Great Britain and Ireland were constantly affected by all these four countries during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and though in quite recent times our commercial and also our intellectual intercourse with them has attained a constantly increasing importance. Accordingly, the appearance of a new sketch of their history, brief, but perhaps all the more likely to be generally read because it is brief, deserves a welcome. The motive which specially prompts me to write these few lines of preface to the book of Mr. Jon Stefansson, is the fact that he is an Icelander, and that I have long known him as a scholar who has brought his knowledge of the language and history of his own isle to illustrate the early history of the British islands by a study of

our place-names, which he has shown to be, especially along our coasts, very largely of Icelandic or Old Norse origin. As he is qualified by his knowledge of Iceland to present an outline of its history, so he has also the advantage, in writing of the other Scandinavian countries, of being able to treat their annals with an impartiality which might come less naturally to a Dane or a Norwegian or a Swede. Iceland is, to be sure, a part of the dominions of the Danish Crown, but on the other hand the people of Iceland are by race an offshoot of the people of Norway, so that an Icelander like Mr. Stefansson stands in his sympathies midway between Denmark and Norway. Denmark had in the more distant past many a war with Sweden, and Norway has, in more recent times, had some friction with Sweden, but Iceland never stood in any but friendly relations with Sweden.

It is a distinctive feature of this little book that more space is in it allotted to the annals of Iceland than one finds in other books devoted to the Northern countries. Now Iceland is a country of quite exceptional and peculiar interest, not only in its physical but also in its historical aspects. The Icelanders are the smallest in number of the civilized nations of the world. Down till our own days the island has never had a population exceeding seventy thousand, yet it is a Nation, with a language, a national character, a body of traditions that are all its own. Of all the civilized countries it is

the most wild and barren, nine tenths of it a desert of snow mountains, glaciers, and vast fields of rugged lava, poured forth from its volcanoes. Yet the people of this remote isle, placed in an inhospitable Arctic wilderness, cut off from the nearest parts of Europe by a stormy sea, is, and has been from the beginning of its national life more than a thousand years ago, an intellectually cultivated people which has produced a literature both in prose and in poetry that stands among the primitive literatures next after that of ancient Greece if one regards both its quantity and its quality. Nowhere else, except in Greece, was so much produced that attained, in times of primitive simplicity, so high a level of excellence both in imaginative power and in brilliance of expression.

Not less remarkable is the early political history of the island. During nearly four centuries it was the only independent republic in the world, and a republic absolutely unique in what one may call its constitution, for the government was nothing but a system of law courts, administering a most elaborate system of laws, the enforcement of which was for the most part left to those who were parties to the lawsuits.

In our own time Iceland has for the student of political institutions a new interest. After many years of a bloodless constitutional struggle between its people and the Danish Crown, Denmark conceded to Iceland a local legislature, and an autonomy under that legislature which has greatly

improved the relations between the two countries and furnished another argument to those who hold that peace and progress are best secured by the application of the principles of liberty and self-government. It is much to be desired that the Russian Government should appreciate the value of these principles in its dealings with Finland.

As regards that much larger part of Mr. Stefansson's book which relates to the Scandinavian countries of the mainland, it is enough to call attention in a very few words to the interest which their most recent history has for us, since I cannot attempt to enter into those more distant centuries which are illustrated by the great names of Norse, Danish, and Swedish kings, from Olaf Tryggvason of Norway and Cnut of Denmark and England, down to Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII of Sweden. In our time Denmark has become a perfectly constitutional State, after a long dispute which in the last generation divided the Crown from the people. She has also, by the application of the principle of co-operation and by the use of scientific methods, become one of the most prosperous agricultural regions of Europe. Sweden's industries also have been immensely developed, while her political life has passed, under a reformed parliamentary system, into new and striking phases. Both these countries have been adorned by brilliant poets and novelists, as well as by scientific investigators of the first rank.

The history of all the Northern countries well deserves far more attention from Englishmen than it has hitherto received.

BRYCE.

July 17, 1916.

INTRODUCTION

It has often been stated that Denmark, Sweden, and Norway come late into European history and are factors of little importance for the balance of power. Yet we find that at the dawn of their history, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the Scandinavian peoples exercised a deep and lasting influence on Western and Eastern Europe. They helped to build up the empires of England, of France, of Russia. These early Empire-builders had discovered the value of sea-power and used it to conquer and settle many shores. They imparted their seafaring and colonizing genius to the Anglo-Saxon stock. The Vikings contributed virile and adventurous elements to the composite stock of the English. In France they became crusaders and builders of cathedrals. They sent out leaders of men, not only on the Seine and the Thames, but also on the Dnieper. They gave Russia her name and governed her, few though they were in number. They broke the Mongolian yoke. Rurik's last descendant died as Tsar in 1598.

The Anglo-Scandinavian Empire of Cnut the Great was short-lived, but the Scandinavian mind clung to it with tenacity. Harald Hardrada of

Norway, Saint Cnut of Denmark, tried to revive it. Even as late as the middle of the fourteenth century Valdemar Atterdag negotiated with France about his claims to the English Crown and planned the conquest of England. It has remained a dream which can only be realized if the Scandinavian kingdoms should enter a Federated British Empire for their own safety and security.

Though the smallest in extent of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, Denmark was the most powerful of them during the early Middle Ages. At the time of the Valdemars she held the hegemony of the North. She held sway over the Wends and Esthonians on the shores of the Baltic. But soon the naval and commercial domination of the northern seas by the Hanseatic Cities ousted all competitors. The Baltic Empire of Denmark crumbled easily. Through civil feuds she sank into disorder and degradation, and seemed to be on the verge of sharing the fate of Poland. Valdemar Atterdag restored her to her pristine state. It was his daughter, Margaret, who brought about the first union between the three kingdoms of the North. Her contemporaries greatly marvelled at the strength and wisdom of the woman who accomplished what men had in vain striven to do. But it was only a dynastic union, not a union of the three peoples. Denmark continued to be the predominating Power and ruled the two other countries in her own interest. This was contrary to the stipulations of the Kalmar

Union, drafted at Kalmar, 1397, by nobles representing the three kingdoms, according to which they were all to be on an equal footing, while each of them was to retain her independence as a sovereign state. As a symbol of this union Margaret's grand-nephew was crowned with the triple crown of the three kingdoms at Kalmar, in 1397. A coronation in any of the three capitals of Denmark, Norway, or Sweden would have been a breach of their status of equality. This was the theory, but in practice the union worked far otherwise. Margaret, desirous of curbing the power of the nobles, never promulgated the terms of the Kalmar Union. Danes held office in Sweden and in Norway contrary to the stipulations of the Union. The national spirit of the Swedes rose against the Danish yoke. Norway lacked leaders. The flower of her nobles had been killed off in civil wars and in blood feuds. The union between Denmark and Sweden gradually broke up, though it lasted nominally till 1523. The Vasa dynasty ascended the Swedish throne. They raised Sweden to the highest pinnacle of power which has been reached by any of the three sister nations.

In a series of fratricidal wars Denmark and Sweden struggled for supremacy in the North. Denmark aimed at the dominion of the adjoining seas, the Baltic, the North Sea, the Polar Sea. She insisted that all foreign men-of-war should dip their topsail in her seas. She emblazoned the three crowns in her arms as a symbol of her

supremacy. She exacted customs duties not only in the Sound but also for ships rounding the North Cape. This finally led to the Swedish seizure of the Sound provinces, Scania, Halland, Blekinge. Holland, which desired that the Northern Dardanelles should not belong to one Power, supported the two rival Powers against each other. In the course of half a century these fertile provinces became thoroughly denationalized and wholly Swedish.

The aim of Swedish statesmen was to create a Baltic Empire. By holding the southern and eastern coasts of the Baltic, with the outlets of the great rivers, they held the master-keys to the future destinies of Germany and Russia. When Gustavus Adolphus defended religious freedom against Pope and Emperor, he proposed a Scandinavian alliance to Christian IV. They were fighting for the same ideals, but distrust and jealousy won the day. Christian refused. But ever since attempts have been made from time to time to realize the dream of a united Scandinavia. In the latter half of the seventeenth century Griffenfeld and Gyllenstierna, a great Danish and a great Swedish statesman, both saw that the invincible Swedish army and the splendid Danish navy, united, would enable their countries to act the part of a Great Power in Europe. Unfortunately, Denmark in the eighteenth century was secretly leagued with Russia against Sweden, and England systematically made use of the hostility

of these two Powers to Sweden to counterpoise the influence of France in the Baltic where she had important interests. Again, at the time of the North American War of Independence, Denmark and Sweden drew nearer to each other. In 1780, 1794, and 1800 Dano-Swedish fleets cruised in the Baltic and in the North Sea, commanded in turns by a Danish or a Swedish admiral, to protect and convoy their joint commerce. But this comradeship in arms, the Armed Neutrality, came to an end in 1801. The Danes had to fight Nelson single-handed in the battle of Copenhagen. The Swedish fleet lay at Karlskrona, ready to join them, but its commander disobeyed the orders of his king. It was the same admiral who surrendered the impregnable Sveaborg to the Russians in 1809. It has been held, though there is no proof of it, that he accepted bribes on both occasions. Bitterness and distrust replaced mutual confidence between the sister nations. After the dethronement of Gustavus IV (1809) the Crown Prince of Denmark was a candidate for the vacant throne of Sweden, and he might have united the two countries under one sceptre had he been less obstinate and narrow-minded. Bernadotte thought that the acquisition of Norway was of more value to Sweden than the loss of Finland, the tenure of which would always be unsafe and at the mercy of Russia, while only one tenth of its population were Swedes. He judged from the map. The two nations, inhabiting the same peninsula, were

joined together, 1814–1905, and during that time the changes that took place were mainly in the direction of differentiation from each other.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the students of the Scandinavian Universities began to hold joint meetings and draw together in various ways. During the Danish wars with Germany (1848–50 and 1864) hundreds of Swedish and Norwegian volunteers joined the Danish army, and it was only with difficulty that Sweden-Norway could be held back from joining in the war. It is now known that Bismarck had made a secret arrangement with Russia. If Sweden-Norway assisted Denmark with their armies, Russia was to invade the northern parts of these kingdoms and seize certain ice-free ports. Sweden wisely remained at peace and in safety.

The three Scandinavian nations have instituted a common coinage and postage. Certain members of their three parliaments hold inter-parliamentary meetings and conferences at stated intervals, in which they discuss how to bring their legislation and other matters into closer conformity. Their rules of neutrality have been made identical. Never has their feeling of close kinship and their sense of the need of standing by each other in time of danger like one nation been stronger than it is at the present time.

Sweden is not only the largest in area, population, and wealth of the three kingdoms. She is also the one who has played a great part on the

stage of European history. No other country in the world has had a succession of hero kings, one after the other, as she has. Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII dazzled their contemporaries even more than or as much as Napoleon. Charles X, in a reign lasting only six years, filled the pages of history with heroic deeds. Charles IX and Gustavus Vasa laid the foundations of the greatness of Sweden as the leading Protestant Power in Europe. Gustavus III saved his country from the fate of Poland, and, almost single-handed, carried through a revolution without shedding one drop of blood. Sweden had been governed by parliamentary majorities, without honour and without patriotism. The highest bidder, the Russian or the French Ambassador, could have their votes, and bribery was thoroughly systematized, a regular source of income. To such degradation had Swedish nobles come!

Sweden had tried successively various forms of government. The oligarchy of the nobles broke down through its own inefficiency and was supplanted by absolutism. When Charles XII, by his autocratic obstinacy, ruined the Baltic Empire of Sweden, royalty was constitutionally shorn of all power. Unfettered parliamentary government led to such abuses that it, too, in its turn, broke down. Even now, under the constitutional régime of the Bernadottes, the King of Sweden has powers, rooted in tradition, which have lapsed in Denmark. Recently Gustavus V was able to

dismiss a ministry which represented a parliamentary majority, because they disagreed with him on military matters, and the subsequent elections proved that the King had correctly gauged the opinion of the Swedish people. Swedish kings have often, in the hour of need, appealed to the proud and free Swedish peasantry, whose spirit has never been cowed by villenage, as in Denmark.

During the last five hundred years Danish kings have not stood forth as the leaders of their people in the Swedish way. Christian I and Christian IV essayed it, but did not succeed. The Danish nobles at every election of a king encroached on the royal privileges and domains. Though they held in fief the larger half of Denmark they exempted themselves from taxation. The peasants on their estates were treated like serfs. Just retribution came in due time. After the loss of the provinces east of the Sound Frederick III, in 1660, introduced an absolute autocracy, the most thoroughgoing and logical that the world has seen. The real author of the Lex Regia was a statesman of genius, Griffenfeld. He determined to carry out the "*L'état, c'est moi*" of Louis XIV to its utmost limits and consequences. The new autocracy was at first more efficient than the oligarchy, but it killed and chilled all independence and initiative and soon degenerated. One of its first victims was Griffenfeld himself, who died in prison. Mediocre kings, some of them alienated from their people by a German Court, ruled a meek and humble nation.

Even the loss of Norway in 1814 did not shake their simple trust in the godlike wisdom of their monarch. The mad freaks and the dissolute scandals of the insane Christian VII did not affect his popularity. He reigned forty-two years.

The liberal movements that spread like fire through Europe in 1848, also reached Denmark. Frederick VII, at the pressing request of his people, gave up his absolute power, and in 1849 Denmark was granted the Constitution, which, with some alterations, is in force to-day.

The Danish peasants had in the course of centuries sunk down to a lower status than those of Sweden. Since the Peasant Reforms in 1788 their recovery has been rapid. At the present time they are more prosperous, more enlightened, more progressive, more ready to turn to practical use the latest discoveries in science than the farmers of any other country. Their co-operative institutions are studied and imitated by other countries. They have set themselves to make good the loss of Danish territory in 1864 by putting under cultivation an area of equal extent within the borders of the kingdom.

Danish Slesvig is being Prussianized by force and violence. This wound is still open and bleeding. Nowhere does Danish patriotism burn with such a bright and steady flame as among the Danes in North Slesvig. Separated from their countrymen economically, administratively, and politically, yet they are tied to them to-day by

even stronger bonds than half a century ago; they are, as it were, a living human wall that acts as a frontier guard to the motherland. Their prudence and self-restraint are such that every measure of Germanization merely intensifies their national feeling, and thus has the opposite effect of what was intended. Unconquerable, they patiently await the day of deliverance. Amid all party strife in Denmark Slesvig has been a rallying point for the best and strongest elements of the nation. Since the parallel with Finland and Sweden is often drawn, it should be stated that the dissimilarity is greater than the resemblance.

Finland is struggling to preserve historic rights which gave her a status as an internally independent nation within the Russian Empire. Dominated, led, and civilized by Swedes for centuries, she is still under their spell, but they are a dwindling and decreasing minority. A thousand years of common history makes every Swede feel the Russification of Finland as a blow struck to denationalize a branch of the Swedish race. Only second to that is the danger to Sweden caused by the elimination of Finland as a buffer state. It is to ward off this danger that the impregnable fortress of Boden has been built in the high North. Unreasonable or not, these Swedish fears exist, as they did at the time of the Crimean War. There is a regret that the November Treaty of 1854, by which England and France engaged to defend

Swedish and Norwegian territory against Russian encroachments, is no longer in force. Sweden has, in the course of centuries, lost so much territory to Russia that she fears the process may not be at an end yet, and she cannot look on unmoved at events happening in Finland. At the same time she is forming new cultural and commercial ties with the Russian Empire, whose statesmen have more than once urged that her fears are groundless.

Iceland stands on her historic rights. The Icelandic Republic entered into a personal union with Norway in the thirteenth century, the monarch being the common link. Later, Denmark took the place of Norway in this union. Iceland is still striving to get Denmark to acknowledge her historic rights, and to modify her constitutional relations accordingly. At the present time it is debated whether the Minister for Iceland should attend the meetings of the Danish Cabinet or not. Denmark is gradually coming to see that she can give way without losing any advantage or prestige. The intense national feeling of the Icelandic people has behind it a history which is the common heritage of all the Scandinavian nations. As the treasure-house of the past of the Scandinavian nations, Iceland deserves to have, apart from its historic rights, a unique and separate status of its own, unassailed by petty constitutional quibbles. The essence of the movement towards unity of the Scandinavian nations is closely bound up with Iceland, for all Danes,

Swedes, and Norwegians are equally proud of their historic past, which, through the Icelandic Eddas and Sagas, has been preserved for all time. Even now Iceland is awaking from the sleep of centuries, and advancing, economically, by leaps and bounds. Denmark should be proud to assist in the renaissance of the little nation in the North Atlantic, whose stubborn spirit has survived the oppression of man and of nature, on the verge of the Arctic Circle. The new University of Iceland at Reykjavik will again lift the torch of culture and learning which burnt so brightly in republican Iceland. New Iceland-owned steamers are crossing the Atlantic for the first time in 1915. New energies are springing up in many directions. They have been to some degree roused by the colony of Icelanders, New Iceland, founded under the British flag on the shore of Lake Winnipeg. None of the Scandinavian nations have such strong English sympathies as the people of Iceland, whose nearest neighbour in Europe is Great Britain. It was an Englishman, William Morris, who said that as Hellas is holy ground to the nations of the South, so should Iceland be a Hellas to Northern Europe.

A united, free, and federated Scandinavia is no longer a dream of the distant future. The world-historic events through which we are passing have brought it nearer to realization. The meeting of the three kings, so closely related to each other, proves that all ill-feeling engendered by

the separation of Sweden and Norway in 1905 is at an end. The very selection of a meeting-place, Malmö, was suggestive of the meeting at Kalmar, in 1397.

Sweden, possessing a larger army and a larger navy, alone, than Denmark and Norway added together, would have to bear the burden of defence to a higher degree than either of her sister nations. The only neighbours whom the three countries fear are Russia and Germany, and their joint resistance to either of these two Empires would be no insignificant factor in a European war. Sweden and Norway are by nature well adapted for defence against superior forces.

The literature and art of Scandinavia has influenced Europe. Ibsen's art has revolutionized the drama of every country. The music of Grieg has strengthened the national strain in European music. Thorvaldsen made an epoch in sculpture. In science Scandinavia has contributed far more than her share. She has sent out explorers who have been the only serious rivals of the English. Norway has more shipping in proportion to her population than any other country. Denmark, the size of an English county, has an East Asiatic steamship line, and controls the Great Northern Telegraph Company's lines that extend to the uttermost ends of the Asiatic Continent. The metallurgy and mining of Sweden can hold its own with those of any other country. European civilization and culture would be the poorer if it

were to forgo the contribution made to it by the Scandinavian countries.

The influence of England on the Scandinavian countries begins with the dawn of their history. Christianity with civilization in her train penetrated slowly from the British Isles to the North. Cnut the Great drew the two peoples nearer to each other in his Empire.

Elizabeth, in her correspondence with the kings of Denmark, brooks little interference with the important commercial and economic interests of England in the Baltic. James I, Charles I, and Cromwell favour Sweden, the great Protestant Power fighting on behalf of all Protestant nations. In the tangled web of alliances of the latter half of the seventeenth century Sweden, as a rule, was found on the side of France, and Denmark among her opponents. Charles XII, after the seizure of Bremen and Verden by Hanover, was at war with George I as the Elector of Hanover, but at peace with him as King of England. Sir John Norris cruised in the Baltic with the British fleet as a neutral. Still, Sir George Byng blockaded Gothenburg in the spring of 1717, to prevent a Jacobite raid on England by Charles XII. In the eighteenth century English policy favoured Denmark, as Sweden was for the most part the satellite of France. England attacked Denmark twice during the Napoleonic wars, in 1801 and 1807. A seven years' war with Denmark came to an end in 1814. Since then economic interests have

knit close ties between England and Denmark. Denmark sends the whole of her large exports of agricultural produce, over twenty million pounds' worth, to the British market. Sweden is imitating the example set by Denmark in an ever-increasing degree.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION ix

PART I

DENMARK

CHAPTER

I.—ORIGINS—THE VIKING AGE . . 3

II.—CNUT THE GREAT 9

III.—THE EARLY MIDDLE AGE . . 14

IV.—THE AGE OF THE VALDEMARS (1157–1241) 22

V.—CIVIL WARS 29

VI.—VALDEMAR ATTERDAG (1340–75) . 34

VII.—QUEEN MARGARET—THE KALMAR UNION—THE OLDENBURG DYNNASTY 38

VIII.—CHRISTIAN II 47

IX.—THE REFORMATION 63

X.—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1563–70) 69

XI.—CHRISTIAN IV (1588–1648) . . 73

XII.—ABSOLUTISM—GRIFFENFELD . . 80

CHAPTER PAGE

XIII.—Absolutism in the Eighteenth Century 88

XIV.—Christian VII and Struensee . 99

XV.—Frederick VI—Denmark and England—The Loss of Norway 109

XVI.—Christian VIII—Slesvig and Holstein 122

XVII.—Frederick VII—the Constitutional Monarchy—The First Slesvig War 129

XVIII.—Christian IX and his Successors—The Loss of Slesvig—Constitutional Struggles . . 138

PART II

ICELAND

XIX.—Iceland 153

PART III

SWEDEN

XX.—Origins—The Viking Age and the Early Middle Age . . . 171

XXI.—Union with Norway (1319–71) and with Denmark (1389–1521) . 185

XXII.—Gustavus Vasa (1523–60)—The Reformation 197

CHAPTER PAGE

XXIII.—Eric XIV 225

XXIV.—The Reformation—Poland . . 234

XXV.—Gustavus Adolphus . . . 242

XXVI.—Sweden as a Great Power . . 270

XXVII.—Charles XII 287

XXVIII.—Parliamentarism Free and Unfettered 298

XXIX.—Gustavus III 305

XXX.—Gustavus IV—The Loss of Finland 319

XXXI.—Bernadotte and his Successors—The Union with Norway and its Dissolution . . . 328

PART IV

FINLAND

XXXII.—Finland after its Separation from Sweden (1809–1914) . 347

Synchronistic Tables of Events in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway 361

Index 375

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS . . . *Frontispiece*

THE JELLINGE STONE 4

ORNAMENTS, CHIEFLY BUCKLES, OF THE VIKING AGE 6

DANISH COINS, FROM THE REIGN OF CNUT THE GREAT, MINTED AT LUND, ROSKILDE, RINGSTEAD 12

CANUTE AND EMMA. 12
From a miniature reproduced in "LiberVitæ" (Birch)

CHALICE AND RING OF ABSALON . . . 26

QUEEN MARGARET'S SARCOPHAGUS . . 42

CHRISTIAN II. 48

THE STOCKHOLM MASSACRE 58

THE KRONBORG TAPESTRY MENTIONED IN "HAMLET." FREDERICK II. AND HIS SON . 70

CHRISTIAN IV 76

HESSELAGERGAARD CASTLE 78

CAROLINE MATILDA 102

PAGE

STRUENSEE 106

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY . . . 136

JÓN SIGURDSSON 166

GRAVESTONE OF THE ENGLISH PATRON SAINT OF FINLAND, BISHOP HENRY . . . 178

GUSTAVUS VASA 198

STOCKHOLM 204
From an old print

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS LANDING IN GERMANY . 254

SEAL OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS . . . 260

DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AT LÜTZEN . 266
A Dutch print

GRAVE OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, RIDDARHOLM CHURCH, STOCKHOLM 268

AXEL OXENSTIERNA, CHANCELLOR OF SWEDEN . 272

CHARLES X 276

DAHLBERG 278

MARCH OF THE SWEDISH ARMY OVER THE ICE . 280

THE SWEDES STORM COPENHAGEN, FEBRUARY 11, 1659 282

CHARLES XII 288
By Wedekind

PAGE

DEATH MASK OF CHARLES II 296

GUSTAVUS III 308

BERNADOTTE (CHARLES JOHN) . . . 326

FIVE FINNISH LEADERS 352

MAP . . . . . *at the end*

PART I

DENMARK

CHAPTER I

ORIGINS—THE VIKING AGE

THE earliest references to Denmark are found in classical writers. The Cimbrians, who were beaten by Marius at Vercelli, 101 B.C., have left traces of their name in a district of Jutland, the present Himmerland (Himmer-, earlier Himber-). Ptolemy in his geography, A.D. 130, mentions the Cimbrian peninsula, and Pliny the Elder, about A.D. 70, writes that he sailed round it. About the time of the birth of Christ the citizens of Ankyra (now Angora), in Asia Minor, built a temple dedicated to the Emperor Augustus and the goddess Roma. On its marble wall the following inscription, chosen by Augustus himself, was engraven: "My fleet sailed from the mouth of the Rhine eastward to the country of the Cimbrians to which no Roman had ever penetrated before that time by sea or by land and the Cimbrians and the Charydes and the Semnones and other German peoples in these regions asked for my friendship and that of the Roman people, through legates."

The ethnic name of the *Danes* is first recorded by the historian Prokopius, A.D. 550, while King

Alfred the Great is the first writer who records the name *Denmark* (Denemearc in old English) in the account of the travels of Ottar and Wulfstan, which he inserted in his translation of Orosius, A.D. 890.

Denmark was the first Scandinavian country to adopt Christianity. Willibrord, the English missionary who converted the Frisians, preached in Denmark shortly after 700 A.D., and took thirty Danish boys with him when he left. When Charlemagne Christianized the Saxons by sword and fire, their leader, Widukind, sought refuge in Denmark. Thus Christianity approached Denmark as the enemy of its freedom and independence, and King Godfred set out with two hundred ships to attack Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, but he was assassinated while raiding the coast. Heming, his successor, made peace with Charlemagne in 811. The river Eider was to divide Denmark and the Empire. In 826 the Danish king, Harald, came sailing up the Rhine to visit the Emperor Louis Debonnaire, and was baptized at Ingelheim, near Mainz, with his queen and his son and a large retinue. He apparently changed his faith in order to seat himself more safely on the throne of Denmark with the assistance of the Emperor to whom he did homage. Ansgar ("the Apostle of the North") sailed with him down the Rhine to convert Denmark. Ebo, Archbishop of Rheims, had been on a fruitless mission to Denmark in 823. Ansgar was born in Picardie in

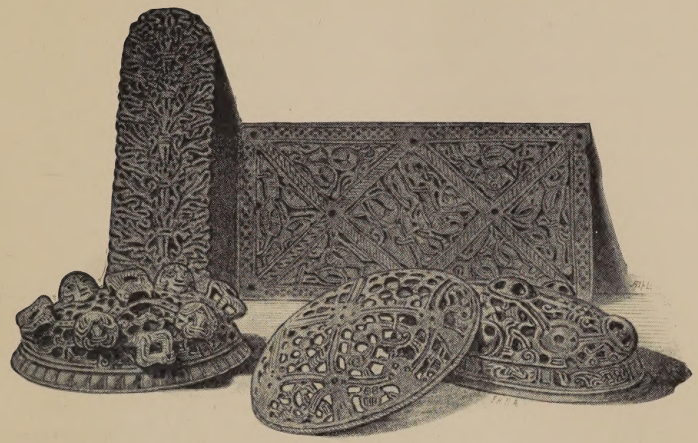
THE JELLINGE STONE

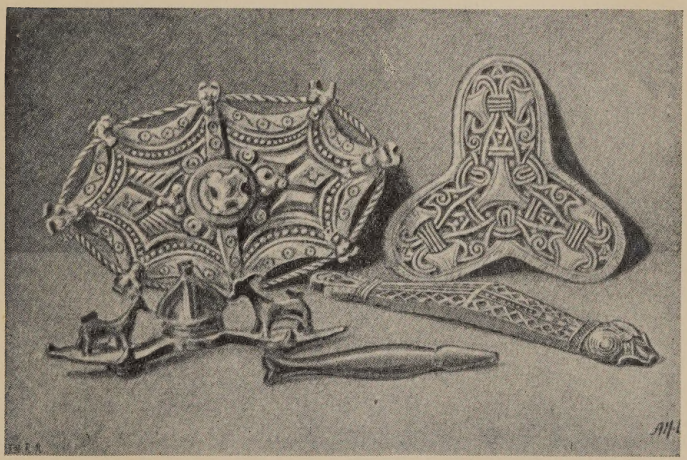
801. He entered the Frankish monastery, Corbie, and moved to New Corvei in Saxony, founded in 822 by the Corbie Benedictines. Ansgar established a school at Hedeby (Slesvig), but he had to flee the country in 827 when King Harald was expelled. At the request of certain Swedes the Emperor sent him on a mission there in 829. When he arrived at Birca, the chief city of Sweden, King Biörn permitted him to preach. The baptized chieftain, Hergeir, built a church in Birca. After eighteen months Ansgar returned to Germany, and was appointed Archbishop of Hamburg in 831, with Scandinavia for his mission-field. In 845 King Horik of Denmark sailed up the Elbe with six hundred ships, plundered Hamburg and burnt Ansgar's church and monastery and his Danish school. But in 848 the Emperor made Ansgar Bishop of Bremen, yet retaining the title of Archbishop of Hamburg. About 850 the first church in Denmark was built in Slesvig. The next church was erected at Ripe (now Ribe), these two churches being the only ones in Denmark long after Ansgar's death. News reached him from Sweden that his missionaries had been expelled, and in 853 he went there a second time. Single-handed he succeeded in persuading King Olaf and a hostile assembly to tolerate the new faith. Ansgar died in Bremen, 865, sixty-four years old, and his successor and pupil, Rimbert, wrote his Life. St. Ansgar—he was canonized—was a noble and winning character, full of self-

sacrifice and burning zeal. A visionary who realized his visions in life, who lived on bread and water, and wore a hair shirt next to his body. He deserves his name, "the Apostle of the North."

The history of Denmark during the next century, down to the middle of the tenth century, is shrouded in obscurity. As Adam of Bremen says: "Whether of all these kings or tyrants in Denmark some ruled the country simultaneously or one lived shortly after the other is uncertain." Saxo gives the names of no less than fifty kings of Denmark who reigned before the Viking Age. King Gorm raised a runic stone at Jellinge in memory of his queen, Thyri, with the following inscription: "King Gorm set this monument after his queen, Thyri, Denmark's guardian (*tanmarkar but*)." She was called thus because she built the *Danevirke* (Danework) in three years, each province of Denmark building the part assigned to it of the wall of earth, turf, stones, and timber, stretching from the Bay of Slien to the River Eider, almost ten miles in length. It served to defend the southern frontier. Æthelfled, the Lady of Mercia, the sister of Alfred the Great, had a little earlier built similar works in England against the Danes themselves. The earliest occurrence of the name Denmark in Denmark itself is on Thyri's stone.

Gorm's son, Harald Bluetooth (940–86), is the first Christian king of all Denmark. The Saxon monk Widukind of Corvey, writing in 970, relates how the German priest Poppo converted the King





ORNAMENTS, CHIEFLY BUCKLES, OF THE VIKING AGE

by carrying red-hot iron in his naked hands, unhurt, about 960. But already about the middle of the century Archbishop Adaldag of Hamburg began to organize the Danish Church by appointing bishops, Hored of Slesvig, Liufdag of Ripe, Reginbrand of Arus (now Aarhus). Harald subdued Southern Norway and Earl Hakon became his vassal but refused to adopt the new faith. As Harald says with pride on the runic stone he raised at Jellinge in Jutland: "King Harald bade make this monument after Gorm, his father, and after Thyri, his mother, that Harald who conquered all Denmark and Norway, and made the Danes Christians." Harald lost Norway before his death, and was killed in a war against his son Sven, 986.

Sven Forkbeard (989–1014) laid siege to London in 994, unsuccessfully, wintered in Southampton 994–95, and was bought off with Danegeld. It was probably on his return to Denmark that he let the moneyer Godwin strike coins in imitation of a coin of Ethelred the Unready. It is the first real coin struck in Denmark, and bears the name of king and moneyer. No other coins dating from his reign have been found, but English coins, *i. e.*, Danegeld, have been found in abundance.

In league with King Olaf of Sweden, and with Eric and Sven, the sons of Earl Hakon of Norway, he defeated King Olaf Tryggvason of Norway in the famous battle of Svold, off the coast of Rügen, in A.D. 1000. Sven had put away his Polish wife,

Gunhild, and married Sigrid the Proud, the widow of Eric the Victorious, King of Sweden. Olaf Tryggvason had been one of her suitors, but when she refused his demand that she should be baptized he called her "heathen like a dog," and struck her in the face with his glove. "This will be your death," Sigrid exclaimed. She had egged on her new husband to avenge the insult. Besides, Sven's sister who had run away from her husband, the Duke of Poland, had married the King of Norway, without Sven's consent. Norway was then divided among the three conquerors.

CHAPTER II

CNUT THE GREAT

AFTER the massacre of the Danes in England on St. Brice's Day, November 13, 1002, one of the victims of which was Sven's sister Gunhild, wife of an ealdorman, Pallig, King Sven made a vow to wrest England from Ethelred. For years he ravaged and raided till Ethelred fled to Normandy. Sven became master of England in 1013, but he died on February 3, 1014, at Gainsborough. Adam of Bremen relates that priests and bishops came from England to preach in Denmark during Sven's reign, among them Bishop Godebald to Scania. It is significant that the Danish Odinkar, Bishop of Ripe (Ribe), had all Jutland for his diocese during Sven's reign, as Sven would not appoint German bishops to the vacant bishoprics. Cnut was now elected King by the Danish army in England. He had to leave, but returned (1015) with a huge fleet. Harald, Sven's eldest son, succeeded Sven in Denmark and, with his brother Cnut, brought their mother, Gunhild, home from her exile in Poland. Cnut had to conquer England over again. The death first

of Ethelred and then of Edmund Ironside (six months after dividing England with Cnut) in 1016 left Cnut in possession, after a severe struggle. The twenty-two-year-old viking leader ruled England, not as a conqueror but with greater wisdom and justice than its native kings. He married Ethelred's widow, Emma. He sent his Danish army out of the country and retained only his trained household troops, the house-carls, a standing army of three thousand men. He wished England to be governed by Englishmen. After 1021 Earl Thorkil the High, his chief adviser, yields place to an Englishman, Godwine. Cnut's ideal seems to have been an Anglo-Scandinavian Empire, of which England was to be the head and centre. In 1018 he succeeded to the throne of Denmark, after the death of his brother Harald. In 1028 he sailed to Norway with 1400 ships and seized it without a sword-stroke. When King Olaf attempted to reconquer his country, he was slain by the Norwegian bonder in the battle of Stiklastad, July 29, 1030. Sven, the son of Cnut and Aelfgifa, was appointed viceroy of Norway. At Christmas, 1026, Cnut and his brother-in-law, Earl Ulf, bandied high words over a game of chess at Roskilde, the royal residence in Denmark. Next morning he ordered one of his men to slay the Earl wherever he found him, and he ran the Earl through when kneeling down in the choir of Trinity Church. Next spring Cnut went on a pilgrimage to Rome, not only to expiate his sin

but also for State reasons. He was the first Scandinavian king to enter the Eternal City. On Easter Day, 1027, the Emperor, Conrad II, after his coronation by the Pope in St. Peter's, walked out of the Cathedral with Cnut to the right and the King of Burgundy on his left side. Cnut's novel conception of kingship stands out in the letter sent by him from Rome to his English subjects: "I do you to wit that I have travelled to Rome to pray for the forgiveness of my sins and for the welfare of the peoples under my rule. . . . I have vowed to God to rule my kingdoms justly and piously. I am ready, with God's help, to amend to the utmost whatever heretofore I have done, in the wilfulness and negligence of youth, against what is just. My officers shall administer justice to all, rich and poor, nor do wrong for fear or favour of any man, on pain of losing my friendship and their own life and goods. I have no need that money be gathered for me by unjust demands. I have sent this letter so that all people in my realm may rejoice in my welfare, for, as you know, never have I spared—nor shall I spare—to spend myself and my toil in what is needful and good for my people."

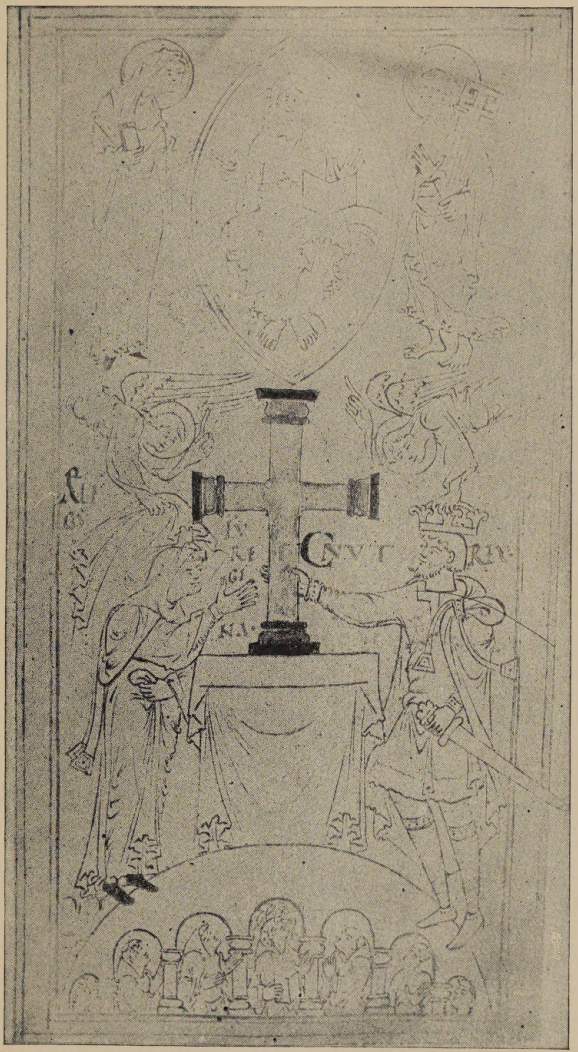
In Cnut's reign churches were built and the earliest monasteries founded in Denmark. He sent bishops from England to Denmark, Gerbrand to Roskilde, Bernhard to Lund, also Reginbert. All these names are Frankish. Abbot Lyfing, who accompanied Cnut to Denmark and to Rome,

was his adviser in establishing the Danish Church, which Cnut wished to be subject to Canterbury. The Archbishop of Bremen tried in vain to prevent the Anglicizing of the Danish Church.

DANISH COINS FROM THE REIGN OF CNUT THE GREAT, MINTED AT LUND, ROSKILDE, RINGSTEAD

Peter's pence was introduced in Denmark. The first regular Danish coinage dates from Cnut's reign, and English moneyers worked for him in several Danish towns. English civilization and culture struck root in Denmark. Cnut died on November 12, 1035, thirty-seven years old, and is buried at Winchester. The Norwegians, dissatisfied with his son Sven, called Magnus, the son of St. Olaf, to rule Norway.

"Cnut," says the Icelandic *Knytlinga Saga*, "was of great size and strength, and very handsome except that his nose was thin, high, and



CANUTE AND EMMA

(The King and Queen are presenting a golden cross to Winchester Abbey, New Minster.)

From a miniature reproduced in *Liber Vitæ* (Birch)

slightly bent. He had a light complexion and fair, thick hair, and his eyes surpassed the eyes of most men, in beauty and in keenness." His contemporaries called him Cnut the Mighty, ruler as he was of England, Southern Scotland, Denmark, Norway, and of the Wendish (Slavonic) lands along the south coast of the Baltic, including Jomsborg, the stronghold of the Baltic vikings. He subdued the Baltic coast in 1022. In 1026 he beat back the attack which the allied kings of Sweden and Norway made on Denmark in his absence. Posterity has called him Cnut the Great.

His Anglo-Scandinavian empire crumbled at his death. His life was too short to lay its foundations stable and sure. The violent viking temper in him has its outbursts, but he devotes much care to the Church, to education, and to the poor. As the Icelandic historian, Snorri Sturluson, says: "In his Kingdom was so good a peace that no one dared break it." The greatest of Danish kings, he has only his equals in Alfred and Elizabeth as ruler of England.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY MIDDLE AGE

HARTHA-CNUT, his son by Emma, succeeded Cnut in Denmark, where he had been viceroy since 1032. After the death of his half-brother, Harald Harefoot, King of England (1035–40), he reunited England and Denmark. He ordered Harald's body to be dug up and flung into the Thames. In 1042 he fell down dead as he stood at his drink at a wedding-feast in Lambeth. As the chronicler says, "He never did anything royal." Thus the incapacity of Cnut's sons dissolved the union of England and Denmark, and the dream of an Anglo-Scandinavian empire vanished. Edward the Confessor succeeded to the English throne, and the son of St. Olaf, Magnus the Good, King of Norway, succeeded to the throne of Denmark.

Sven Estrithson (1047–76) was the son of Earl Ulf and Estrith, daughter of Sven Forkbeard, after whom he is called, since it was owing to her royal birth that he was elected king. Of him the *Knytlinga Saga* says that "he was handsome, tall and strong, generous and wise, just and brave but

never victorious in war." Born in England about 1018, he was educated there. His father governed Denmark when Cnut the Great was absent. After the murder of his father he took refuge on the large estate left him by his grandmother Sigrid, in Sweden. Hartha-Cnut gave him the title of Earl, but at his death in 1042 Magnus the Good, King of Norway, succeeded to the Danish throne in accordance with the Treaty of Brenneyjar between him and Hartha-Cnut. Magnus created Sven Earl, though his leading chieftain, Einar, called out to him: "Too mighty an Earl, too mighty an Earl, my foster-son!" Sven took the name of king, and rose more than once against Magnus, but was always defeated. On his death-bed in 1047 Magnus the Good gave Denmark to Sven, who for seventeen years had to defend it in long wars against King Harald Hardrada of Norway. He suffered numerous defeats, but he never despaired, and in 1064 he had wearied Harald out, and was allowed to keep Denmark in peace. After the Conquest Sven prepared to take England from the Conqueror. His brother Esbern, who had been outlawed from England in the reign of Edward the Confessor, commanded a fleet of 240 ships, which sailed in August, 1069, to conquer England. Cnut and Harald, Sven's sons, were on board. Esbern rowed up the Humber and seized York. When the Conqueror approached with an army he could not reach them on board their ships in the river, and merely ravaged the

country. Esbern left for Denmark in June, 1070, bribed or bought off, it is supposed; at any rate he was exiled by the King on his return. In 1075 a second expedition of two hundred ships, commanded by Cnut, failed for lack of support by the Danes of the Danelag. Cnut brought the relics of St. Alban with him to Denmark, and deposited them in the church of Odense.

About 1060 Sven completed the organization of the Danish Church. He divided Jutland, which was then under one bishop, into four bishoprics, Ripe (Ribe), Viborg, Aros (Aarhus), and Vestervig (later Börglum), and founded the bishoprics of Lund and Dalby in Scania. Dalby was soon joined to Lund in one bishopric. According to Adam of Bremen, Scania had 300 churches, Siaelland 150, Funen 100. Sven favoured the Church, and the building of the Cathedral of Roskilde began in his reign.

Sven had nineteen children—fifteen sons and four daughters—all illegitimate but one, a son who died in infancy. Five of his sons were kings of Denmark successively. He was compelled by Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen to divorce his queen, Gunild, the widow of the Swedish King Anund Jacob, because she was a daughter of a half-sister of Sven's mother, Estrith. Adam of Bremen, in his *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg*, which reached to about 1072, quotes Sven as one of his chief sources, since "he held the whole history of the barbarians in his memory, as

it were in a written book." Sven told him Danish history by word of mouth.

Harald Hen (the Gentle, 1076–80) the eldest of Sven's sons, was succeeded by his brother Cnut, (1080–86), who took up the plan of his youth, the conquest of England; an immense fleet of one thousand ships assembled in the Limfjord, among them ships from his brother-in-law, Olaf the Quiet, King of Norway, and his father-in-law, the Count of Flanders, but Henry IV of Germany compelled Cnut to guard his southern frontier, for the Emperor's enemies fled to Denmark. The fleet waited for Cnut all the summer of 1085, and when provisions failed, disbanded. Cnut punished them with fines which he wanted to commute into tithes for the clergy. A general rising took place in Jutland and Cnut fled to Funen. On July 10, 1086, at evensong, in the wooden church of St. Alban at Odense, Cnut, his brother Benedict, and seventeen warriors, defending him, were stoned and speared. His character resembles that of Gregory VII, and he became the Protomartyr of Denmark less owing to sanctity of his life than to his patronage of the Church. He was succeeded by his brother Olaf, nicknamed Hunger (1086–95), because Denmark suffered from bad seasons and famine in his reign—the vengeance of God, it was believed, for the murder of the Saint. Olaf transferred the bones of Cnut at Easter, 1095, to a stone church. After a general fast of three days his grave was opened and at that very mo-

ment two days' unceasing rain stopped, the sun shone in a blue sky, and all joined in a Te Deum. Cnut's bones were laid in the crypt of the unfinished stone church the foundation of which he had laid and which was then called St. Cnut's Church. He was enshrined at Easter, 1101, after Pope Paschalis II had canonized him. King Eric the Evergood (Eiegod) in 1098 went on a pilgrimage to Rome in order to get his brother Cnut canonized and to get an archiepiscopal see established at Lund. Urban II granted both his requests at the Church Council of Bari. Eric met Anselm of Canterbury there, and visited Duke Roger of Apulia, who was married to Edel, St. Cnut's widow. Edel sent precious stones for the Saint's shrine. In A.D. 1100 Eric sent for twelve monks from Evesham-on-Avon, who settled in the first monastery built in Denmark, close by St. Alban's Church.

King Eric the Evergood (1095–1103) had eight men's strength and was taller than other men. He was the first King in Europe who went on a pilgrimage to Palestine; it was in penance for homicide. He died in Cyprus on July 10th, St. Cnut's Day, in 1103, but his queen, Bodil, continued the journey to Palestine, where she died. Paschalis II sent Cardinal Alberic with the archiepiscopal pallium to Bishop Asser of Lund, a nephew of Queen Bodil, in 1104. Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury in a letter, extant, congratulates Asser on being appointed Primate of the

North, but no papal bull establishing the archbishopric is preserved. Thus the Scandinavian nations were freed from German Primates who did not know their language. Niels (1103–34), the fifth of the brothers who reigned as king, appointed Cnut, son of Eric Evergood, Earl or Duke of Slesvig, 1115. Hereafter the Earls of Slesvig were called Dukes (*Hertog*). Cnut was then twenty-one years old. He was beloved by the people, and he was called Cnut *Lavard* (the Middle English form of English *lord*); he was elected alderman of St. Cnut's Guild at Hedeby. He was married to Ingeborg, daughter of Grand Duke Mstislav of Novgorod. Cnut had been educated at a German Court and he brought German culture to Denmark.

Archbishop Asser began to build a cathedral at Lund, in spite of peasant riots caused by the enforcement of the celibacy of the priests. Aelnoth of Canterbury, one of the St. Cnut's Friars at Odense, wrote a Life of St. Cnut, soon after 1120, and dedicated it to King Niels.

Cnut Lavard became Prince (*Knes*) of the Wendish tribes near the Danish frontier. He was invited by King Niels to spend Christmas at Roskilde in 1130. In vain he was warned not to go by Cecilia, a daughter of St. Cnut, whose brother, Charles the Dane, had been murdered kneeling before the altar, in 1127, in the same way as her father had been slain in 1086. Cnut Lavard was assassinated in a wood on January 7,

1131, by Magnus, King Niels' son. As the Chronicle says: "Magnus, King Niels' only son, at the instigation of the devil, slew, in treacherous peace, Cnut, son of King Eric, a chaste and temperate man, gifted and eloquent." "Purple does not ward off sword-strokes," Cnut's cousin had said to him, alluding to his foreign dress. "Sheepskin does not, either," Cnut answered.

Cnut's widow, Ingeborg, gave birth to his posthumous son on January 14, 1131. She called him Valdemar, after her grandfather, Grand Duke Vladimir. Civil war ensued, the bloodstained clothes of Cnut being exhibited at public assemblies. In the battle of Fotevik, in Scania, on Whit Monday, June 4, 1134, Magnus, Niels' son, five bishops, and sixty priests were killed, and the victor, Eric, a half-brother to Cnut Lavard, was called Emune (Ever-to-be-remembered) afterwards. King Niels fled to Slesvig, and was killed on June 25th by the guild-brothers of St. Cnut, who were bound to avenge the death of their alderman. Eric Emune (1134–37), a tyrant who put to death his brother and his nephew, was assassinated at a public assembly. Eric Lamb (1137–47), a grandson of Eric Evergood, by his daughter, succeeded him as the three princes nearest to the throne were only from six to eight years old. Eskil, Asser's nephew, succeeded him as Primate of the North in 1137. The gentle but feeble Eric abdicated in 1147 and retired to a monastery. Civil war raged from 1147–57 be-

tween Sven, the illegitimate son of Eric Emune, Cnut, son of Magnus, and Valdemar, son of Cnut Lavard. They divided Denmark between themselves. Sven assassinated Cnut at a banquet at Roskilde, while Valdemar, with his foster-brother, Absalon, was wounded and barely escaped assassination. Sven was defeated and killed in battle by Valdemar in 1157.

CHAPTER IV

THE AGE OF THE VALDEMARS (1157–1241)

VALDEMAR I, later called the Great (1157–82), healed the wounds of the civil war. He appointed an Englishman, Radulph, his chaplain, and made him subsequently his chancellor, and then Bishop of Ripe (Ribe). There was an open rupture between the King and Archbishop Eskil; they supported rival Popes during the schism. Eskil at last had to go into seven years' voluntary exile at the Abbey of Clairvaux. He was a pupil of St. Bernard. In 1178 Eskil abdicated as archbishop and retired, to end his life at Clairvaux in 1182. Absalon, whose Danish name, Axel, was thus Latinized, had been Bishop of Roskilde since 1158, and was now fifty years old. He was solemnly elected Primate in the Cathedral of Lund, but refused to accept, though the King, Archbishop Eskil, and his clergy and the people pressed it upon him, and his clothes were torn in the attempt to force him into the archiepiscopal seat. Finally the Pope commanded him to accept, on pain of excommunication, but permitted him to continue Bishop of Roskilde. Denmark has

never produced a greater personality than Absalon. He was equally eminent as statesman, warrior, and churchman. For a generation he guided Denmark in peace and war with supreme ability. When Valdemar came on the throne, about one third of Denmark lay wasted and depopulated by the continual irruptions of the heathen Wends. Absalon beat them off, and for ten years he was engaged in a series of crusades against them to the south of the Baltic. At last in 1169, with Valdemar, he stormed the inaccessible Wendish temple stronghold of Arcona, on the northern promontory of Rügen. The four-headed, gigantic wooden statue of their chief god, Svantovit, was demolished in the presence of hundreds of temple priests and chopped into firewood for the Danish camp. The Wendish capital, Garz, was taken and the seven-headed Rügievit suffered the same fate. The Wends were baptized, and the island of Rügen was annexed to the bishopric of Roskilde.

To protect the fishing village of *Havn* (Haven, Hafnia)—first mentioned in *Knytlinga Saga*, 1043—on the Sound against pirates, Absalon built a stronghold, in 1168, *Castrum de Havn*, on the site where now stands Christiansborg Palace in Copenhagen. King Valdemar made a grant of the future capital of Denmark to the see of Roskilde, and the bishops gave it municipal privileges, subsequently confirmed by royal charter. It was called Kaupmanna Havn (Chapmen's or Merchants' Haven) because of its trade, and the

city is still called Copmanhaven in Elizabethan English. The modern Danish is Köbenhavn, while modern English Copenhagen is borrowed from German Kopenhagen. Absalon's statue on horseback, a battle-axe in his right hand, stands to-day near the site of his castle.

On June 25, 1170, the solemn enshrinement of Cnut Lavard as a Saint took place at Ringsted simultaneously with the coronation of Cnut (VI), the seven-year-old son of Valdemar. It was the first coronation of a Danish king. Valdemar I died suddenly, forty-seven years old. The lines on his epitaph at Ringsted Church run: "Primus Sclavorum expugnator et dominator, patrie liberator, pacis conservator." As the Chronicle says: "He was lamented by all Denmark for which he fought more than twenty-eight battles in heathen lands and warred against the pagans to the glory of God's Church so long as he lived."

Cnut VI (1182–1202) conquered Pomerania and Mecklenburg, with Absalon's help. In 1184, on Whit Sunday, Absalon annihilated the Pomeranian fleet in a great battle. As Cnut added all the lands of the Wends from the Vistula to the Elbe to his dominions, he assumed the title of *Rex Sclavorum*, King of the Wends or Slavonians, in 1185, a title retained by the Kings of Denmark to-day. Cnut defied the German Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, and refused to render him fealty for the land south to the Elbe conquered by his brother. King Philip August of France,

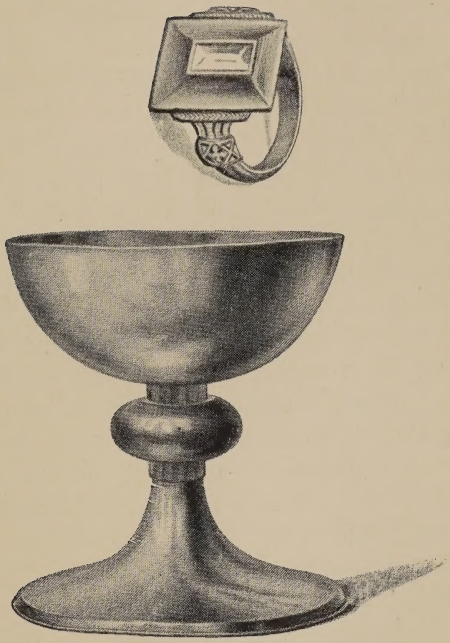
when he married Cnut's sister, Ingeborg, in 1193, wanted Cnut to make over to him the claims of the Danish kings to the English crown and to have the full use of the Danish army and navy to enforce these claims. Philip August put away his queen in a nunnery for years, but was compelled by Innocent III to take her back. Of Cnut VI the Chronicle says: "He was not given to whispering conversation or fun, during mass, as some are wont, but held his eyes fixed on the psalter or prayer book, in meditation."

Absalon died on March 21, 1201. He had studied at the University of Paris, where a college for Danes (*Collegium Dacicum*) had been founded. He was a patron of literary men, and encouraged his secretary Saxo, later called Grammaticus, to write a history of Denmark, *Gesta Danorum*, which comes down to about A.D. 1185. Sven Aggeson, a contemporary, also wrote a history of Denmark, ending in the same year. The Icelandic *Knytlinga Saga*, a history of the kings of Denmark from Harald Bluetooth to Cnut VI, also ends in 1185. Saxo's history is only known so far from the text printed in 1514, but for some fragments of what is probably his own MS. of the history, discovered at Angers in 1877. The first history of Denmark written by a Dane is the Roskilde Chronicle, from the time of Eric Lamb, 1137–47.

Valdemar II, the *Victorious* (Sejr) (1202–41), was a brother of Cnut. Before his accession to the throne, while he was Duke of Slesvig, he had

conquered Holstein and the territories south to the Elbe, and after his coronation he was recognized by the German Emperor as Lord of Northalbingia (*i. e.*, the territory between the Eider and the Elbe). Lübeck and Hamburg were now subject to Denmark.

In 1206–10 Valdemar seized the island of Oesel, off Esthonia in the Baltic. When the Bishop of Riga appealed to him for assistance, he set out on a crusade against the heathen Esthonians. He had a great armada, 1400 vessels in all, and sailed with about 1000. The city of Reval opened its gates to him. Tradition relates how in the battle of Lyndanise, near Reval, in 1219, the Danes having lost their banner and being hard pressed, a red banner with a white cross in the centre dropped from the sky, when the Danes at once rallied and gained a victory. The Pope may have sent a consecrated banner to be used in this crusade. The *Danebrog* (Danes' cloth) has ever since been the national banner of Denmark. It is seen in the arms of the city of Reval which rose round the fortress built by Valdemar, who established a bishop there. The Baltic was now almost a Danish lake, for Denmark held its southern coast from the Elbe to Lake Peipus. No monarch in Northern Europe, except the King of England, held sway over a wider dominion. Since Cnut the Great, Denmark had not attained such a pinnacle of power. Yet in one day this empire, and with it the hegemony of the North, crumbled to dust.



CHALICE AND RING OF ABSALON

One of Valdemar's German vassals, Count Henry of Schwerin, had a grievance, as a portion of his fief had been taken from him by the King. On May 6, 1223, Valdemar and his eldest son were hunting on the little island of Lyö, south of Funen. Count Henry was their guest, but in the middle of the night, May 6th to May 7th, he seized them asleep in their tent, and carried them off to a dungeon in Dannenberg on the Elbe, a castle in Germany belonging to him. Thereupon the North German vassals of Valdemar rose against Denmark and defeated the Danes. After an imprisonment lasting two and a half years Valdemar was compelled, on November 17, 1225, to pay in ransom for himself and his son forty-five thousand marks silver, all the Queen's jewels, and costly apparel for one hundred knights, to cede all his conquests except Rügen, to give hostages, and take an oath to keep these conditions. Thus in one night the conquests made by three kings in sixty years were lost. The Pope absolved Valdemar from his oath, but in the battle of Bornhöved, July 22, 1227, Valdemar's final attempt to retrieve his fortune, he was defeated with the loss of one eye. He now formally ceded Northalbingia to the Emperor. He had lost Esthonia, too, in the fatal year 1227, but recovered it in 1238. Of his Wendish (Slavonic) Empire on the Baltic he retained only the island of Rügen. He now applied himself to internal administration and the codifying of laws, and is called the

Lawmaker (*legifer*) in the next century. The *Liber Census Daniae*, a kind of Danish Domesday Book, was drawn up in 1231. There were even then 420 *houe*, *i. e.*, German homesteads, in the crown-lands of Slesvig, which was then wholly Danish. The Scanian law had been written down soon after 1200, but Valdemar codified the Zealand (Sjaelland) Law, and the Jutland Law Code was only completed a few days before his death on March 28, 1241.

He was first married to Dragomir (Danicized Dagmar), a daughter of King Ottokar I of Bohemia, and then, after her death, to Berengaria (Danicized Bengerd), a daughter of King Sancho of Portugal. His first queen was beloved by the people, and celebrated in folk-songs and ballads; the second was unpopular. Valdemar's four sons all became Kings of Denmark, but the eldest, Valdemar III, died in 1231 as co-regent of his father.

As the Ryd Monastery Annals say: "At the death of Valdemar II the crown fell off the head of the Danes. From that time forth they became a laughing-stock for all their neighbours through civil wars and mutual destruction, and the lands which they had honourably won with their sword were not only lost but caused great disasters to the realm and wasted it." The next century (1241–1340) is a time of decline, when nearly all Danish kings die a violent death.

CHAPTER V

CIVIL WARS

ERIC PLOGPENNING (Plough-penny) (1241–50) was called thus because he levied a tax on every ploughshare in the kingdom to defray the expenses of a crusade to Esthonia. His brother, Abel, Duke of Slesvig, refused to do homage for his fief; after prolonged hostilities they were reconciled, and the King was his brother's guest in the ducal palace near Slesvig. In the night he was seized and taken in a boat out on the Slien, allowed to make his confession, beheaded, and then sunk with heavy chains into deep water. Some fishermen found the body; it was taken to a monastery, the monks attested the miracles wrought at his tomb, and after a time he was canonized by the Pope. Abel (1250–52), the fratricide, of whom his contemporary, Matthew of Paris, says, "Abel only by name, by deed Cain," purged himself of all guilt by his own oath and that of twenty-four nobles, as compurgators. Abel enacted many wise measures and encouraged trade with the Hansa cities. He fell in a battle against the Frisians, 1252, and his brother, Chris-

topher I (1252–59), was elected King. His reign was a struggle with a Danish Thomas à Becket, Jacob Erlandson, Archbishop of Lund since 1253. The Archbishop convened a Church Council in 1256, which decreed that if any bishop should suffer any injury by order, connivance, or assent of the King, the kingdom should be laid under interdict, and divine worship suspended. The Primate threatened to excommunicate any bishop who should dare to assist at the coronation of the King's son, Eric, which was thus foiled. The Archbishop was now seized at night, February, 1259, and carried off to a dungeon, chained, with a cap of foxes' tails on his head. The country was then placed under an interdict, and Christopher died suddenly three months later, May, 1259; the contemporary suspicion that he had been poisoned by a monk seems to be groundless.

Eric Klipping (1259–86) (Klipping, a clipped sheepskin) was hardly eleven years old when he came to the throne, and the Queen-mother, Margaret, governed on his behalf. The struggle with the Archbishop continued, with many vicissitudes. A papal legate came to Denmark to settle the dispute, and he excommunicated the King and his mother and laid the kingdom under interdict, as they did not attend before him. The interdict was removed in 1275, after it had remained in force with varying degrees of rigour for sixteen years, but the Primate had died the year before

on his way back to his archiepiscopal see, and Crown and Church came to terms.

On March 19, 1282, at Vordingborg, Eric, with the "best men of the realm, lay and learned," enacted a Constitution which in its extended form, enacted at Nyborg, July 29, 1282, is the Magna Carta of Denmark. The *parlamentum quod hoff dicitur* (the Parliament, called Danehof in the fourteenth century) shall be held once a year in mid-Lent, and its time and place shall be made known one month beforehand. No one shall be imprisoned unless lawfully found guilty. Eric granted charters of incorporation to many towns, and favoured the guilds and enacted guild statutes. On the night of November 22, 1286, Eric retired to sleep in Finderup Barn in Jutland, tired after a day's hunting. His dead body was found next morning with fifty-six wounds. A contemporary ballad brands the atrocious deed done by Danish nobles. At the Parliament of Nyborg, 1287, Eric Mœndved (1286–1319), the twelve-year-old son of Eric Klipping, with the help of his mother, regent during his minority, and of the Duke of Slesvig, his guardian, selected a grand jury to determine the guilt of the regicides. Nine were found guilty and sentenced to perpetual banishment and the confiscation of their goods. The assassins had fled to Norway and harassed Denmark from their robber nests in islets on the coast, while the protection given them by the Norwegian Court caused a long war between

Denmark and Norway. The regicide outlaws are the heroes of the ballads of this time. The new Archbishop, Jens Grand, was their secret ally, and in April, 1294, he was arrested and lingered in a dungeon, where he was treated as the lowest criminal with every circumstance of ignominy till December, 1295, when he escaped. The King was summoned before Boniface VIII, who received the Primate as a martyr, since "there was many a saint in heaven who had suffered less in the cause of God." A cardinals' court sentenced the King to pay the Archbishop forty-nine thousand marks of silver as indemnity, an interdict to be laid on the kingdom, and the King to be excommunicated until the sentence was complied with and all their rights restored to the clergy. Eric vainly tried to defy the Pope, but finally made an abject submission, in an autograph letter: "Let the Vicar of Christ restore to his servant his lost ear that the holy sacraments being again restored, he may again freely hear the Word of God, and whatever burden your Holiness may impose upon his shoulders, how heavy soever, he will not refuse to carry the same. What more can he say? Speak, Lord, thy servant listens." The interdict was removed, the indemnity reduced to ten thousand marks, and the Archbishop translated to a benefice in Germany. Civil war broke out repeatedly, owing to Christopher, the King's brother, and his treason and treachery. Eric died childless and with a large part of his kingdom mortgaged.

Christopher II (1320–32), the most faithless and useless ruler Denmark has ever had, was compelled to sign a capitulation, on his election as King, safeguarding the rights of clergy, commons, and parliament. Twice he was driven from his kingdom and the twelve-year-old Duke of Slesvig was King (1326–30), under the guardianship of Count Gerhard III of Holstein. The monarchy was divided among foreign princes, and the King died in extreme poverty, 1332. Gerhard occupied Jutland, and laid it waste with his mercenaries. After a lawless interregnum of eight years (1332–40), Gerhard was slain at night in his camp at Randers by a Jutland nobleman, since famous in folk-song, Niels Ebbesen, 1340.

CHAPTER VI

VALDEMAR ATTERDAG (1340–75)

VALDEMAR IV, Atterdag, the youngest son of Christopher II, was educated at the Court of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria (1326–40). He married Helvig, the sister of Duke Valdemar of Slesvig, and with her dowry recovered Northern Jutland. Denmark was sunk to the lowest depth in its history, and all its provinces were held by foreign intruders, when he was elected King. He was only about twenty years old, but already then he possessed all the dogged and unscrupulous energy, all the cool calculation and determination to gain his end by any means which made him the "Restorer of Denmark." He had only the revenue of one county in Jutland to keep himself and his Court, and recover a Denmark partitioned among mortgagees, mainly the Counts of Holstein. Yet by 1349 he had recovered all Denmark west of the Sound, except part of Funen and Jutland. He sold Esthonia to the Teutonic Knights in 1346 for nineteen thousand marks silver, with which he recovered alienated royal domains. The Black Death raged in 1349–50, and Jutish noblemen rose

against him. This enabled him to seize many estates. With his restless energy he wished to reassert the old claims of the Danish Crown to England. During his negotiations with King John the Good of France, then involved in the Hundred Years' War with England, he offered to invade England with twelve thousand men if France paid him six hundred thousand florins; Valdemar's son was to marry a French princess to strengthen the alliance. These fantastic plans (1354–56) came to nothing, but Edward III of England took Valdemar's enemies, the Counts of Holstein, into his service. Valdemar won a great victory over the Holstein Counts in Funen in 1357. His wars were brought to a close in the Parliament (now called *Danehof*) at Kallundborg (1360), when he had recovered all Denmark west of the Sound. In the pacification issued there, King and people promised to mutually aid each other to pacify Denmark. In 1360 he recovered Scania, South Halland, and Blekinge from Sweden by craftiness and sharp practice. He now became master of the herring fisheries in the Sound, off Skanör and Falsterbo, where forty thousand boats and three hundred thousand fishermen were stationed to catch and salt the Lenten fare, a new and rich source of revenue for the Danish Crown.

A contemporary crusader, the French nobleman Philippe de Maizières, has described these fisheries: "As God hath commanded, the herring pass, yet

only for two months in the year, namely, September and October, from one sea to the other, through the Sound, in such multitudes that it is a great miracle, and so many that in several places in this Sound, fifteen leagues in length, one may cut them in two with a sword. The second miracle is that forty thousand boats with crews of six to ten men, from all Germany and Prussia, gather here solely to fish herring for two months. Also five hundred large ships do nothing but salt the herring in barrels. . . . At the end of these two months not a boat or a herring will be found in the Sound. It takes many to catch so small a fish, over three hundred thousand men do nothing else for two months. . . . I wrote this so that God's grace to Christendom manifested in the abundance of herring for Lent might be recognized, for poor people can buy a herring but not big fish." The Crown revenue from the Scanian fisheries was larger than all the other revenues of the Crown.

In July, 1361, Valdemar took Visby, the proud Hansa town in Gotland, with its forty-eight towers rising from the city walls and an immense booty in gold and silver. He then assumed the title of the King of the Goths, which all his successors on the Danish throne have borne. The conquest of Gotland led to war with the Hansa League, but their fleet was beaten by Valdemar off Helsingborg, 1362. In the winter of 1367–68 a formidable coalition of seventy-seven Hansa cities,—seventy-seven geese as Valdemar called

them derisively,—Sweden, Mecklenburg, and Holstein agreed to divide Denmark while, at the same time, the Jutish nobility rose in arms. Valdemar went abroad for over three years (1367–71) and left the Royal Council to avert the danger. Peace was made at Stralsund (1370) on humiliating conditions. The Hansa acquired the revenues of West Scania for sixteen years and no King of Denmark must be elected without their consent. Valdemar recovered nearly all Slesvig before his death, October 24, 1375. His surname, *Atterdag*, springs from a Low German oath he often used, "*atterdage, des dages*" (*i. e.*, by George!); it was symbolic, for with him it became "day again" in Denmark, which he restored to its pristine state. With him the male line of Sven Estrithson became extinct, and his daughter, the twenty-two-year-old Margaret (Margrete), the Queen of Hakon VI of Norway, procured the election as King of Denmark of her five-year-old son Oluf in 1376, to the exclusion of Albrecht of Mecklenburg, the son of an elder daughter of Valdemar. While she was occupied in resisting the claims of his grandfather, Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg, the Counts of Holstein seized Slesvig.

CHAPTER VII

QUEEN MARGARET—THE KALMAR UNION—THE OLDENBURG DYNASTY

At once on her accession Margaret comes forward as a ripe political genius whose iron will and patient tenacity overcome all difficulties. Married at ten, in 1363, to the much older Hakon VI, she was sent to Norway, thirteen years old, to be educated by Merete Ulf's daughter, a daughter of the famous St. Birgitta. In 1370, at seventeen, she gave birth to her only child, Oluf. An accidentally preserved letter written by her at the age of nineteen to her husband shows that already then she had her way not only in Court matters but in government affairs. Her genius was precocious. On the death of Hakon VI (1380), Oluf succeeded him as King of Norway, and thus united Denmark and Norway. They remained united till 1814—434 years. Margaret now seized the reins of government as regent in both kingdoms. She compelled the Hansa League to surrender their strongholds in Scania. In 1385 her son Oluf came of age, being fifteen years old, and she made him assume the title "true heir to Sweden."

This was a hostile act against King Albrecht of Sweden. She conciliated the Counts of Holstein by offering them Slesvig, which they had already seized, as a hereditary fief, and they recognized her as their suzerain, 1386. Oluf died suddenly, 1387. She was at once elected "Our Sovereign Lady, the Guardian of the Realm," in Denmark, and in 1388 in Norway. Hereafter she ruled in her own name as "The Right Heir and Princess of Denmark." The discontented Swedish noblemen and State Councillors met her and elected her "Sovereign Lady of Sweden," on very onerous conditions for themselves. King Albrecht was made prisoner in the battle of Falköping, 1389. Sweden lay at her feet. "God gave an unexpected victory into the hands of a woman," says a contemporary chronicle. "All the nobility of Denmark were seized by fear of the wisdom and strength of this lady," says the Chronicle of Detmar. The childless Queen, whose authority should have vanished at the death of her son, now ruled the largest monarchy in Europe.

Since the royal power was the link that held her three kingdoms together, her aim was to make it as strong as possible. She had her grand-nephew, the son of her sister's daughter, Eric of Pomerania, proclaimed King of Norway, 1389, at the age of seven, and elected King of Denmark and Sweden, respectively, in 1396. She curbed the power of the State Council and of the nobility. She bent her energies to recover the Crown-lands in Den-

mark and in Sweden. At the assembly of Nykōping, 1396, the Swedish nobles consented to give up all Crown-lands acquired by them since 1363 and to pull down all strongholds built by them since that date. The Danish nobility gave up all Crown-lands acquired since 1368. She left the highest offices of state vacant and moved about her kingdoms to see to the right administering of law and justice herself, gathering all authority in her own person. She introduced new silver coins, "Sterlings" or "English," which ousted the debased copper coins then current.

In June, 1397, she summoned a meeting of the temporal and spiritual lords of the three kingdoms at Kalmar. On Trinity Sunday, June 17th, Eric was crowned as King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway by the Archbishops of Lund and Uppsala. It was symbolic of the union between the three kingdoms that he was crowned simultaneously King of them all. Thereupon the lords assembled sat for weeks to draw up the conditions of the union of the three kingdoms. The result of their deliberations was two documents. One dated July 13th testified to the coronation and did homage to the King, Eric. This was on parchment with seals attached, while the second document, drawn up on July 20th, was only a draft, written on paper and never ratified. Of the seventeen State Councillors who are said to have issued this draft only ten have put their seals to

it, seven Swedes, three Danes, and no Norwegians. It was to this effect:

There shall be eternal and unbroken peace and union between the three kingdoms under one sovereign. Should their sovereign leave sons, one of them shall be elected King. Should he die without issue the State Councillors of the three kingdoms shall meet and elect his successor. If one kingdom should be attacked the two others shall defend it with all their forces. The King with his State Councillors of the three kingdoms shall have the right to conclude foreign alliances and make decisions binding on all three kingdoms. Each kingdom shall be governed in accordance with its own laws and privileges, no law or privilege to be withheld from one kingdom to the advantage of the other.

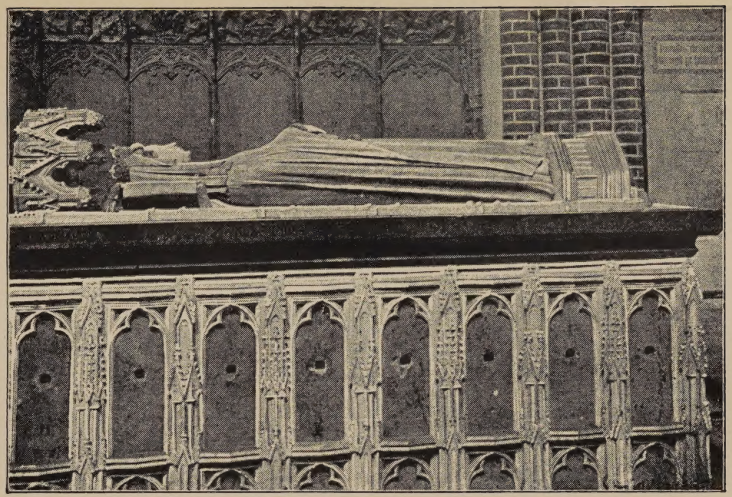
Margaret herself was not anxious to have this draft ratified, as it decreased the authority she had already acquired in Sweden and Norway. Danes and Germans held fiefs and high offices in Sweden and Norway contrary to the stipulation that in each kingdom only natives should hold them. Margaret gave Swedish fiefs to Danish noblemen as she could not trust the Swedish nobility, and she desired that the succession should be hereditary in Denmark and Sweden as it was in Norway. Thus it was only Denmark that gained by the Union of Kalmar. It was a dynastic union, not a union of three nations, and Denmark had the supremacy.

The three kingdoms were governed as one State.

No monarchy in Europe equalled in extent Margaret's empire, which stretched from the Gulf of Finland to the Varanger Fiord on the Polar Seas and southward to the Eider, with the islands of Orkney, Shetland, Faroe, Iceland, and Greenland in the Atlantic. It embraced twice the area of the German Empire.

Margaret bought Gotland from the Teutonic Knights in 1408 and set King Eric to govern the island; he had married, in 1406, Philippa, the thirteen-year-old daughter of Henry V. Eric was given a share in the government, but he turned out to be rash, violent, and obstinate.

Gerhard, Count of Holstein, who had been vested with the duchy of Slesvig, 1386, was killed in fighting the Ditmarsken peasants, 1404, and left three infant sons whose guardianship, with the administration of the duchy, gave rise to disputes between his widow and his brother. Margaret used this family feud to recover Slesvig, partly by purchase and barter, but the impatience of Eric caused a war with Holstein, 1410, which lasted till 1435. Margaret was mediating when she died on board her ship in Flensborg Harbour, October 28, 1413, four days after she had received the homage of the citizens of Flensborg. Her patient policy and strenuous statesmanship succeeded where her predecessors and successors on the throne failed. By her womanly tact she



QUEEN MARGARET'S SARCOPHAGUS

bent the defiant and mutinous nobles to her will, and the common people, though heavily taxed, got justice. Deeply religious as she was, yet the Church had to give back ill-gotten goods. Less brilliant than Queen Elizabeth, she is a ruler of the same type, a virile intellect, yet with all the subtlety and accomplishments of her own sex. She had a dark complexion and was somewhat masculine in appearance. Her policy aimed at weakening the power of the nobility by the help of the Church. She worked for the canonization of St. Birgitta, and inscribed herself in the Vadstena Convent as one of the Birgittine sisters.

Eric continued the war in Slesvig, but with little success. As he tried to break the commercial monopoly of the Hanseates by favouring the English at their cost, and as he claimed dues at Elsinore (where he built a stronghold, Krogen, to command the passage) from ships passing through the Sound, thus introducing the Sound Tolls, 1425, the Hansa cities joined his enemies. He recovered Copenhagen (then Copmanhaven) from the Bishop of Roskilde, 1416, gave it a charter, 1422, and often resided there. His queen, Philippa, a sister of the victor of Azincourt, acted as regent in his absence, 1423–25. She showed her brother's courage in repulsing a Hanseatic attack on Copenhagen, 1428. She was inscribed as a Birgittine sister in Vadstena Convent, where she died childless in 1430 and where she is buried. Discontent with the heavy taxation and misrule of Eric now

began to grow louder. As all his three kingdoms were seething with discontent, he departed in disgust, 1438, and settled with his favourite mistress in Visborg Castle in Gotland, where he lived ten years, chiefly by piracy. Handing Gotland over to Denmark, 1449, he spent his last ten years in Pomerania, where he died 1459.

Denmark elected his nephew, Christopher of Bavaria, King; Sweden elected him in 1440, Norway in 1442. Though he was crowned separately in each kingdom, the Kalmar Union was thus renewed. He repressed peasant risings in Jutland with severity, and the Danish peasantry gradually sank into a kind of villenage or serfdom, the "Vornedskab," for the oppression grew worse after every rising. He was known in Sweden as the "Bark King," for the peasantry were compelled to mix birch bark in their bread during a famine in his reign. He made Copenhagen the permanent royal residence after 1443. To complaints of the piracy of Eric in Gotland he answered, "My uncle must live, too."

On Christopher's death (1448) the Crown was offered to Duke Adolphus of Slesvig, who transferred it to his nephew, Count Christian of Oldenburg, descended through his mother from Eric Klipping. Christian I married Dorothy of Brandenburg, the widow of his predecessor. The Kalmar Union was dissolved, though it continued to exist nominally till 1523. Karl Knutsson, King of Sweden, was King of Norway, too, November,

1449, to May, 1450, when the State Councillors of Denmark and Sweden agreed that Norway should fall to Christian I. The Norwegian and Danish Councillors signed a compact at Bergen, 1450, that Denmark and Norway should hereafter be for ever united under one king. They remained united till 1814. Christian I was King of Sweden 1457–64, but his defeat at Brunkeberg, 1471, lost him Sweden, where he was nicknamed the "Bottomless Purse." On the death of Duke Adolphus, the male line of the Holstein Counts became extinct, 1459. Christian I was elected Duke of Slesvig and Count of Holstein on March 5th at Ribe. He promulgated first at Ribe, then at Kiel, a constitution or charter of privileges. He conceded to the Estates the right to refuse to elect any Danish prince who should not undertake to confirm their privileges, while they bound themselves to elect one of his heirs. He promised to keep these countries in peace and *that they remain for ever united and undivided* (*unde dat se bliuen ewich tosamende ungedelt*, in the Low German original). Thus the union between Slesvig and Holstein was officially recognized by Denmark though Holstein continued to be a German, Slesvig a Danish fief. Christian has been blamed for not incorporating Slesvig in Denmark, but his contemporaries praised him for acquiring Holstein. In 1474 Christian went on a pilgrimage to Rome, accompanied by 150 nobles and knights. At Rothenburg he met the Emperor,

Frederick III, who erected Holstein, Stormarn, and Ditmarsken into a duchy. The free peasants of Ditmarsken were not subdued till 1559.

The Hanseates monopolized the entire commerce of Norway, chiefly through their great factory at Bergen, where they were governed by their own statutes. Their overbearing behaviour culminated in 1455, when the Governor of Bergen took sanctuary against them in a famous monastery, which they burnt down, and killed him and the Bishop of Bergen. This outrage Christian dared not punish, and, on the contrary, renewed their monopoly and prohibited their rivals, the English and the Flemings, from trading in Iceland and North Norway. On the marriage of his only daughter, Margaret, to James III of Scotland, 1469, he agreed to remit the arrears of the quit-rent due to Norway for the Hebrides and to pay a dowry of sixty thousand Rhenish florins, as a security for which he pledged to James first the Orkneys, then Shetland. The dowry was never paid, but the claims of Denmark–Norway to redeem the islands were from time to time reasserted. Queen Dorothy got the papal permission at Rome to establish a university at Copenhagen, which was inaugurated in 1479.

King Hans (1481–1513) shared Slesvig and Holstein with his brother Frederic, and succeeded in Denmark, but not in Norway till 1483, when he had to extend the privileges of the aristocracy.

CHAPTER VIII

CHRISTIAN II

CHRISTIAN II (Christiern, as he signed himself, like Christian I) (1513–23) was possessed of uncommon intellectual powers, of courage and energy, of great statesmanlike ideas, of strong sympathies with the common people. But his fine qualities were vitiated by the crafty cruelty and revengeful suspiciousness ingrained in his character. As viceroy of Norway (1506–12), he had shown much ability. He stamped out rebellion with severity, replaced Norwegians by Danes in high office, curbed the insolence of the Hanseates at Bergen and curtailed their privileges. It was at Bergen that he met the beautiful Dutch maiden, Dyveke (*i. e.*, little dove), at a ball which he gave to the city. He danced with her all the evening and fell in love head over ears. "In that dance he danced away the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden," says the Chronicle of Arild Huitfeldt. Dyveke's mother, Sigbrit, possessed striking sagacity and common sense. The viceroy established them both at Oslo, the capital of Norway, and when

he ascended the throne, they moved to Copenhagen.

He had to subscribe, first, the charter submitted to him by the joint Councils of Denmark and Norway: the Crown to be elective, not hereditary, in both kingdoms; the privileges of the nobility to be extended and all the higher offices of State to be held by them: should the King break the charter and then refuse to listen to the "instructions" of the Council, it should have the right to take action (*i. e.*, to coerce him). Christian had, also, before his accession, to receive absolution, kneeling down in church before the bishops, for the crime of keeping the Norwegian Bishop of Hamar in prison. To ensure the succession and to satisfy his ambition, Christian negotiated a marriage with a princess of the Imperial House of Habsburg, Isabella of Burgundy, a granddaughter of the Emperor Maximilian, who promised a dowry of 250,000 florins, the greater part of which was never paid. Christian was married by proxy to his thirteen-year-old bride at Brussels, 1514, and in 1515 the Archbishop of Norway sailed with a fleet to escort her to Denmark. Meanwhile, news had reached Brussels of the *liaison* with Dyveke, and negotiations with reference to King Christian sending her away took place between the Archbishop and the Queen's tutor, the later Pope Adrian VI. The marriage was solemnized at Copenhagen in August, 1515, and though the Queen was twenty years younger than her hus-

CHRISTIAN II

band, she was a good wife to him in his evil days. Dyveke had only been moved a few miles out of Copenhagen, and in 1516 the Emperor demanded that she should be sent out of the kingdom, but Christian defiantly sent the Queen's Dutch Court ladies back to the Netherlands, and installed Dyveke and Sigbrit in Copenhagen in a house near the royal residence. Dyveke died suddenly at Elsinore, in 1517. There was a suspicion that she had been poisoned by some cherries sent her by Torben Oxe, the Governor of Copenhagen Castle—in revenge, it was said, for her rejection of his advances. He was only arrested by the King's order, to be acquitted by his peers in the State Council. "If I had as many kinsmen in the Council as he has, he would never have been acquitted," Christian burst out in hot anger. A court of twelve peasants then declared, "Not we but Torben's own deeds find him guilty," and death was the penalty. It was in vain that the whole State Council, the bishops with the papal legate at their head, even the Queen at the head of the noble ladies of the land pleaded for the prisoner's life, on their knees, before the King. Torben's head fell on November 29, 1517. His execution signifies a breach between King and aristocracy. Henceforth Sigbrit was his chief adviser. She hated the privileged classes. She was an administrative genius. She had studied alchemy and medicine, and acted as midwife when the Queen gave birth to her first son. Like

Paracelsus, she believed herself to possess telepathic powers, and "the King must do all she wanted if he was within fifty miles." No wonder that she was looked upon as a sorceress whose armoury of bottles was filled with evil spirits. The King appointed her Controller of the Sound dues, and soon she took charge of the exchequer, in which capacity she displayed abilities of the highest order. She favoured her own class at the expense of the aristocracy, and formed with her circle an inner council more influential than the State Council. Bitterly as the nobles hated her and her coarse mother-wit the breach with them would have come to a head but for the war in Sweden.

An old, bitter family feud existed between Sten Sture, the Regent of Sweden, and Gustavus Trolle, the Archbishop-elect of Uppsala; the latter refused to do homage to Sture, and entered into secret correspondence with Christian II. Sture laid siege to the Archbishop's castle, Stäke, and defeated the army sent by Christian to relieve it. In 1517, an assembly of nobles at Stockholm decreed that the Archbishop should be deposed for high treason, and Stäke be razed to the ground. The nobles present declared themselves jointly responsible for this decree. Each of them sealed it with his seal. The Bishop of Linköping, Hans Brask, however, cautiously put a slip, on which he had written: "To this I am forced and compelled," under his wax seal. The Archbishop's stronghold,

Stäke, was razed to the ground, and he himself was ignominiously imprisoned in a monastery. In the summer of 1518 Christian II landed with a strong army and besieged Stockholm. Sten Sture defeated him in the battle of Brännkyrka, at which his young kinsman, Gustaf Eriksson Vasa, carried Sture's victorious standard. After a fruitless six weeks' siege of Stockholm, Christian entered on negotiations. He invited Sture to meet himself on board his fleet. When Sture refused, suspecting treachery, King Christian offered to meet him ashore, on condition that six Swedish nobles were sent on board as hostages, Gustaf Vasa and Hemming Gad to be included among these. Sture sent the hostages, but he awaited the King's appearance in vain. King Christian treated his hostages as prisoners, and sailed for Denmark. A papal legate, Arcimboldus, came to Scandinavia and collected money for the building of St. Peter's at Rome, by the sale of indulgences. At the assembly of Arboga, Sweden, 1518, he tried to mediate between King Christian and Sture, but those assembled declared unanimously that they refused to treat with a man who had broken "a solemn compact which the very heathen used to respect." Whereupon Arcimboldus deposed the Archbishop in favour of himself, and was elected by the chapter at Uppsala. Meanwhile he got the news that King Christian had confiscated the large sum of indulgence money he had left in Denmark, and ordered

his arrest, after his secretary, Didrik Slagheck, had informed Sigbrit of all his master's doings in Sweden, and even entered the King's service. The Pope, indignant at the deposition of the Archbishop, excommunicated Sture and his men and laid an interdict on Sweden, to be enforced by Christian, at his own suggestion. Arcimboldus fled to Lübeck, where he found the papal Bull nailed on the church doors, but he succeeded in clearing himself at Rome, and died as Archbishop of Milan.

Christian II made great exertions in fitting out his third expedition against Sweden; he borrowed money, collected new taxes, and claimed part of the dowry due to him through his marriage with the sister of Charles V. His huge army, mainly German mercenaries, included two thousand Frenchmen and two thousand Scotchmen. This time he wanted to ensure the subjection of Sweden. He crossed the border soon after New Year, 1520, and the Bull of excommunication which he was called upon to execute as the representative of the temporal power was nailed on the church doors as he proceeded. In a battle near Bogesund, on the frozen Lake Åsunden, Sture riding at the head of his army was mortally wounded in the thigh by a bullet at the first onset. His leaderless men stood at bay manfully, and defended the forest passes behind felled timber, but had to fall back before superior forces. Sture himself died on February 3, 1520, while crossing the ice of

Lake Mälaren in his sledge on his way to Stockholm. In the confusion that followed, some noblemen in the Council decided to negotiate with, and do homage to, Christian. But Sture's young widow, Christina Gyllenstierna, did not lose heart; she rallied all patriots, took command of Stockholm Castle, and fired the defenders of the city with her splendid courage. The Danish army ravaged the country, and as it approached Uppsala, Archbishop Trolle and nine members of the Council sitting there did homage to Christian II as representatives of all Sweden. The Danish generals, empowered to act for their King, granted in return full indemnity and forgiveness for the past. The King would govern Sweden according to old Swedish customs, laws, and liberties. This vaguely worded indemnity was ratified by Christian II, but no reference was made in it to crimes against the Archbishop and the Church. Whether this loophole was intentional or not will never be known. Christina refused to agree to this surrender, and at her fiery words the sturdy peasants rose to expel the invader. The Danes suffered losses here and there, and on Good Friday the peasants routed their main army near Uppsala. In the bitter struggle the Danish commander-in-chief and some of his generals were repeatedly wounded. Secure, the peasants set about plundering Uppsala, when the Danes rallied and cut them down. Thousands of dead peasants covered the fields by the Fyris River,

but their own Archbishop would not have them buried, as they were heretics and his enemies, while honourable burial was given to all the dead Danes. In the spring Christian laid siege to Stockholm by sea and land. Christina made a spirited resistance all summer, and when the autumn storms began Christian was willing to negotiate and to grant terms. Her demand was a detailed, explicit, and absolute amnesty, to cover all acts committed by the Stures and those named in it. On these conditions the City Council, on September 7th, surrendered the keys of Stockholm to King Christian. He made a triumphal entry, and after a short visit to Denmark returned with his new and sinister favourite, Didrik Slagheck. He summoned the Swedish councillors, nobles, and representatives of towns and provinces to Stockholm, to take the oath of allegiance and attend his coronation. On the hill of Brunkeberg, close by Stockholm, surrounded by German men-at-arms, they swore allegiance to Christian as hereditary sovereign of Sweden. They yielded to brute force, for the Swedish Constitution distinctly provided that the royal succession was by election. On November 4th Christian was crowned and anointed by Archbishop Trolle in Stockholm Cathedral. In his coronation oath he swore to defend the Church, to love truth and justice, to rule Sweden solely through Swedish-born men, and to keep the laws. A special envoy from the Emperor Charles V invested the King with the Order of

the Golden Fleece before the high altar in the Cathedral. He wished to impress his new subjects as an absolute monarch by God's grace. During the great festivities of the three following days he knighted many Danes and Germans, but his herald proclaimed that no Swedes would be included since they had fought against him. Dark designs were in his mind, and on Wednesday, November 7th, "a banquet of another kind began"—as the Swedish reformer, Olaus Petri, words it. The Senate, the City Council, Christina Gyllenstierna, the nobility, and the clergy were all summoned to the King's presence in the audience hall of the royal palace. Here Archbishop Trolle stepped before the King, who was seated on his throne; he cited the words of the coronation oath: to defend the Church, and demanded the punishment of Sture and certain of his adherents as heretics, inasmuch as they had imprisoned him and two other bishops, razed his castle to the ground, offered himself personal violence, and compelled the priests to celebrate mass during his imprisonment, thus violating the canonical law. He demanded a large sum as compensation. Christina then rose and protested that the alleged outrages against the Archbishop and the Church could not be imputed solely to her late husband and the other accused, since they were decreed by a national assembly, all the members of which had declared themselves jointly responsible. In proof of this Christina produced the decree of the said

assembly. It seemed to be unknown to both King and Archbishop. It was issued in the name of all Swedish freemen. It was signed by nearly all the members of the Senate present in the audience hall. This document acted like a bombshell. A storm of explanations and protests burst forth. Bishop Brask cleared himself by revealing the written slip hidden under his wax seal. While this went on the King withdrew. Probably it was settled at a secret conference in his room which persons were to be arrested. After dark two Danish noblemen, accompanied by armed soldiers with lanterns and torches, entered the audience hall and seized, one by one, all those found on the Archbishop's list. They were led away and locked up. "We were like a flock of sheep led to slaughter," says Olaus Petri. At nine o'clock next morning, November 8th, an ecclesiastical court, sitting in the audience hall and presided over by the Archbishop himself, declared that the accused must be held to be manifest heretics. Meanwhile, Didrik Slagheck was making the necessary preparations for their execution. At midday the prisoners were taken to the Central Square and publicly beheaded, ringed round by the royal guards. They were not even permitted to see a priest. "The King wished to slay not only their bodies but also their souls." Two bishops laid their heads first on the block, next fourteen noblemen, three burgomasters, fourteen town councillors of Stockholm,

and more than twenty of its citizens. The executioner stated that eighty-two persons were decapitated the first day, but the executions continued next day. The streets ran blood. The bodies lay about unburied till Saturday, when they were burnt in a heap. Sten Sture's body and that of a child born to him during the interdict were taken out of the grave and burnt too. Sacrilege against heretics was no sacrilege in the eyes of the King. Christina Gyllenstierna, with other noble ladies, was sent as prisoner to Denmark. Thus Christian II murdered his enemies under the pretence of defending the Catholic Church—which he no longer believed in—and it is the dishonesty of the Stockholm Massacre, as it is called, which is the worst feature of it. Instead of coming forward in his true colours as a strong ruler, striking off the heads of turbulent and self-seeking noblemen for the good of the common people, he issued a proclamation to the Swedish people, saying that the execution of these heretics was necessary to prevent a new papal interdict. At the same time he wrote to the Pope that his men had unearthed a conspiracy against his life, and that the two bishops had been killed by mistake. Contemporaries laid the blame for the massacre on Didrik Slagheck, who was made Bishop of Skara, and, on the King's return to Denmark, in December, regent of Sweden, with a council by his side, of which Archbishop Trolle was a member. Christian's journey home through

Sweden was marked by gallows and executions en route. He thought he had utterly cowed the proud spirit of the Swedish people, but he had only roused it by his atrocities. Among the murdered noblemen were the father and brother-in-law of Sweden's future liberator, Gustaf Vasa. The Swedes rose and made an end for ever of Danish dominion in their country.

Didrik soon left, and Christian then made him Archbishop of Lund, but a papal legate arrived soon after to inquire into the murder of the bishops. The King put all the blame on the new Archbishop, who was put to the torture and publicly burnt in Copenhagen.

From June to September, 1521, Christian visited the Netherlands, where he was welcomed as one of the greatest of European monarchs. He was deeply impressed by the high culture and civilization of the wealthy Flemish towns. It was in a talk with Erasmus about Luther that he declared: "Mild measures avail nothing; the medicine that gives the whole body a good shaking is the best and surest." His brother-in-law, the Emperor Charles V, recognized his suzerainty over Lübeck and granted to him Holstein as a fief. It was on his return to Denmark, at the pinnacle of his power, that he initiated his sweeping reforms. A code of laws for towns and country was published in which Dutch influence is clearly visible. The custom which prevailed in the islands "to sell and buy Christian men [*i. e.*, the peasants] as if they

THE STOCKHOLM MASSACRE

Execution of the Bishops

were brute beasts" was abolished. The transfer of the peasantry from one feudal lord to another without their consent was prohibited, and they were permitted to migrate from one manor to another in case of oppression. Feudal lords were forbidden to profit by shipwrecks. Such property should, if unclaimed, fall to the Crown. The nobles and the higher clergy found their privileges shorn and restricted. Better education was provided for the lower clergy. The royal authority was increased throughout, in spite of his democratization of towns and trade guilds. The whole island of Amager was leased to 184 Dutch families to teach Denmark horticulture. New taxes were imposed to raise an army against Sweden. Discontent was rife and rampant. The bishops and nobles of Jutland formed a secret league against Christian. In a document drawn up at Viborg on December 21, 1522, they declared that his tyranny and misrule had cast the three kingdoms into great misery, renounced their allegiance, and later offered the Crown to his uncle, Frederick, Duke of Holstein. The King negotiated and promised redress at an assembly which he had summoned. The crisis of his fate found him weak and vacillating as if his passionate outpouring of energy had exhausted his vitality in a few years. To the astonishment of the towns and peasantry which stuck to him he embarked at Copenhagen, April, 1523, with his family, Sigbrit, and a few faithful adherents, and sailed

for the Netherlands to seek the assistance of Charles V. Copenhagen was besieged June 10, 1523, to January 5, 1524, by Frederick I and Johan Rantzau. For eight years Christian lived in exile, vainly seeking help to recover his dominions. At Lier in the Netherlands he became so poor that he had to pawn his jewels, his faithful Queen died in 1526, and his three children were taken from his custody to be made Catholics. By this time the Danish towns and peasantry longed sorely for his return. In the words of a ballad of the time, the Eagle Song, they looked to the "eagle far away in the wilderness" to protect them against the hawks—the birds of prey that would "pluck out their feathers and down," *i. e.*, the nobles. The Norwegian bishops called him in. He bound himself to Charles V to restore Catholicism in his kingdoms in return for ships and money to invade Norway, whereupon he abjured his past errors in the presence of a papal legate. He sailed from the Netherlands with ten thousand men, October, 1531, but overtaken by tempestuous weather, landed in Norway with less than half his force. Archbishop Olaf and many nobles and prelates swore allegiance to him and his son. Denmark, Sweden, and the Hansa were united against him. During his fruitless siege of Akershus, Bishop Guildenstern (Gyldenstjerne) arrived with a Danish and Hanseatic fleet and they agreed at Oslo (now Christiania) that Christian should be escorted to Copenhagen, under a safe-

conduct, to negotiate further with his uncle. The safe-conduct was broken, partly on the pretext that Guildenstern had exceeded his instructions. As the prisoner of the German and Danish senators he was imprisoned in Sönderborg Castle in the island of Als in August, 1532. Before the outbreak of the "Count's War" he was literally walled up in solitary confinement. Seven years the lonely King whiled away mainly by walking for hours round his table. Deep dints in the stone flags of the floor showed where he stepped. After 1540 he was better treated. He survived two successors, Frederick I and Christian III, and died at Kallundborg, where he spent his last ten years, in 1559, seventy-seven years of age, twenty-seven of which he lived in prison.

He was an enlightened humanist who delighted in long talks with Erasmus Rotterodamus, with Albrecht Dürer who painted his portrait, with Lucas Cranach, and with Luther. He and the Queen became Lutherans. He occupied himself in translating the Old Testament from Luther's German into Danish, and had the New Testament translated into Danish by his companions, Hans Mikkelsen and Chr. Vinter in 1524.

There was a strain both of genius and of madness in his character. He was centuries ahead of his contemporaries in his high aims and great designs. He wanted to make Copenhagen a free staple, the centre of a Scandinavian Hansa, to break the yoke of Lübeck—over which he claimed

the suzerainty of the Valdemars—and the yoke of the German Hansa. His policy fostered trade and art, culture and agriculture. He desired to put a benevolent State socialism in place of the galling yoke of clergy and nobility. Splendidly equipped as he was with the gifts of mind and body, yet withal he was crafty, cruel, obstinate, and suspicious. He expiated his crimes during the long years when he was eating out his heart, first in exile eight years, then in prison twenty-seven years, a figure of more enthralling interest than any that has ever sat upon the throne of Denmark.

CHAPTER IX

THE REFORMATION

On the death of Fredreick I, April, 1533, the Protestants wished to elect his elder son, Duke Christian, a fervent Lutheran, while the Catholics were in favour of his twelve-year-old brother, Duke Hans. The election was postponed till the summer of 1534 to consult the Norwegian Council. About this time the Lutheran democracy at Lübeck got the upper hand and elected Jürgen Wullenwever burgomaster. This ambitious statesman planned to dominate all the Scandinavian kingdoms and dismember Denmark, which was threatened with anarchy and civil war. He allied himself with the leaders of the burgesses and peasants, the burgomasters of Copenhagen and Malmö, nominally in order to reinstate Christian II, whose kinsman, Count Christopher of Oldenburg, was engaged as commander-in-chief; after him the war is called "the Count's War." In a few weeks this military adventurer made himself easily master of all Eastern Denmark, in June and July, 1534, while an assembly of nobles in Jutland elected Duke Christian of Holstein King

as Christian III in July, 1534. Sweden was Christian's ally against Lübeck. The Jutland peasants rose under Skipper Clement and defeated the Danish nobles at Svenstrup, October, 1534, but the able general, Johan Rantzau, reconquered Jutland in one month and stormed Aalborg, where he put two thousand peasants to the sword, December 18, 1534. The yeomen were reduced to bondage and became tenants. Skipper Clement was executed. Christian III was proclaimed King at Viborg in March, 1535. Rantzau wholly defeated Count Christopher's army in the battle of Öxnebjaerg in Funen, in which Archbishop Trolle was mortally wounded, June, 1535. The Dano-Swedish fleet under Peder Skram annihilated a Lübeck fleet, and Christian III could now cross to Sjaelland and lay siege to Copenhagen, July, 1535. Lübeck, after these disasters, reinstated the old patricians in place of Wullenwever, and, by the Treaty of Hamburg, February, 1536, recognized the title of Christian III to the Crown. Copenhagen held out stubbornly, expecting succour from the son-in-law of Christian II, the Count Palatine, and from Charles V. After suffering all the horrors of a famine, Copenhagen surrendered on July 29, 1536, after a twelve months' siege, July 18, 1535, to July 29, 1536. Walking bareheaded on foot with white staffs in their hands to the royal camp, where they knelt down, Count Christopher and other officers were pardoned and a general amnesty granted. The

supremacy of Lübeck in Scandinavian waters which had lasted two centuries was gone for ever. The Catholic Church in Denmark was doomed and the peasants and burgesses were deprived of their political power by the nobility.

The two years' civil war was ended. With a victorious army at his back, Christian III decided to follow the example of Gustaf Vasa in Sweden and confiscate the estates of the bishops. But Rantzau with his officers urged him to finish all with one blow and secretly. During the night preceding the King's birthday, August 12th, the Archbishop and the prelates present in Copenhagen were arrested, and at eight o'clock on August 12th the temporal Councillors were compelled to sign a document, abolishing the temporal power of the bishops, the Crown to take possession of their estates and castles. The other bishops were arrested in their dioceses. A national assembly of 1200 representatives, the largest that had ever met, sat at Copenhagen in October, 1536. On October 30th it enacted a recess which established a national Protestant Church. Bishops were to be abolished, and so-called superintendents, learned Lutherans, were to take over their dioceses and to teach and preach the gospel. All episcopal property was to fall to the Crown and be used for the good of the kingdom. The King was to be the Head of the Church and make all appointments.

The royal charter was issued the same day; such stress was laid on the hereditary right of

the family of Christian III to the Crown that it was only in name that Denmark continued to be an elective monarchy. Members of the State Council were to have the exclusive right to hold the fiefs of the Crown. Regarding Norway, the charter contained the following Article, which altered the status of that country:

"Inasmuch as the Realm of Norway is now so reduced in power that the inhabitants thereof are unable by themselves to maintain a sovereign and king, and the said Realm is nevertheless joined for all time to the Crown of Denmark, and the greater part of the State Council of Norway, above all Archbishop Olaf, now the chief head of that kingdom, has twice within a short time risen against the Realm of Denmark, now therefore we have promised the Council and the nobility of Denmark that, if Almighty God should so dispose that the said Realm of Norway, or any part of it, shall return to our dominion, then it shall hereafter be and remain subject to the Crown of Denmark, like our other provinces, Jutland, Funen, Sjaelland, or Scania, and hereafter shall not be or be called a kingdom apart but a member of the Kingdom of Denmark, subject to the Crown of Denmark for all time."

This sentence of death on the Kingdom of Norway was drafted by the Danish nobles, but it remained a dead letter. The King had a hereditary right to Norway which, in all State papers, continued to be referred to as a separate kingdom.

Still, though Norway retained its own laws and administration, Danish nobles held all the most lucrative offices in the country. The last Catholic Archbishop of Norway, Olaf Engelbrektsson, entered into treasonable correspondence with Charles V and Frederick, Count Palatine, the son-in-law of Christian II, but after a brief struggle, he fled the country about Easter, 1537. He took with him the treasures and archives of Trondhjem Cathedral, and sought refuge in the Netherlands. All Norwegian bishops resigned their offices, but only one of them became a renegade and was appointed Lutheran superintendent of two dioceses.

Bugenhagen was called from Germany to organize the Church and to crown the King. The Protestant conqueror set himself to reconstruct the Church from top to bottom. After the confiscation of the monastic property the revenues of the Crown were tripled. Administration was put on an economic and orderly footing. A new class of efficient officials was created. A pious and cautious common sense characterized the King, who found Denmark racked and ruined by civil war, religious quarrels, and class hatred. When he died, on New Year's Day, 1559, he had by his wise and conciliatory policy recreated a new and stronger Denmark which held the hegemony of the North and dominated the Baltic with her new-built fleet.

In 1544, he divided the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein with his brothers, Duke Hans and Duke

Adolphus. The possessions of the three Dukes were scattered here and there in the duchies and were from that time called the Gottorp, Sönderborg, and Haderslev divisions after the most important castles in each part. Until 1539 the German nobles of the duchies who had put Christian III on the Danish throne had most influence with him, though they could not be members of the Council or hold castles and fiefs, according to the charter. The Danish nobility having won the King over to their side, granted him one twentieth of their property to pay his debt to the Holstein nobility. Christian III allied himself with Sweden and France against Charles V, who continued to regard him as merely the Duke of Holstein. A state of war existed between them, 1542–44, without actual hostilities. By the Treaty of Speier, 1544, the claims of the daughters of Christian II on the Danish throne were abandoned.

The new Church Ordinance was promulgated on September 2, 1537, on the same day as the seven superintendents who took the place of bishops were consecrated by Bugenhagen who was only a priest. Thus the apostolical succession was lost by the Danish bishops; the old name "bishop" soon came back into use instead of "superintendent."

CHAPTER X

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1563–70)

FREDERICK II, 1559–88, had in his youth been prevented by his father from marrying the niece of his tutor, Anna Hardenberg, with whom he had fallen in love; he took this so much to heart that he refused to come to his father's death-bed or to marry during the first half of his reign. At last his aunt, the Duchess of Mecklenburg, induced him, 1572, to marry her daughter, and though the Queen was twenty-three years younger than the King the marriage turned out to be a happy one.

Soon after his accession Frederick, in league with his uncle, the Duke of Holstein, undertook to subdue the stubborn peasants of Ditmarsken. They had utterly routed a large Danish army under King Hans in 1500 and captured the royal standard, the Dannebrog. An army of twenty thousand men, under the consummate leadership of Johan Rantzau, invaded Ditmarsken, the heroic resistance of the peasants was overcome, and their country was divided by the conquerors, but they retained most of their old liberties.

The so-called Seven Years' War with Sweden, 1563–70, broke out when the Swedes suddenly attacked and defeated a Danish fleet off Bornholm, 1563. The Kings of the two countries had both quartered the three Crowns in their arms. Swedish ambassadors and Swedish ships had been molested and detained. Lübeck and Poland joined Denmark in this war. Frederick, marching through Halland, captured the fortress of Elfsborg and cut Western Sweden off from her seaboard. The Swedish army suffered a defeat in Halland, while at sea the Swedish fleet more than held its own against the united squadrons of Lübeck and Denmark. In 1564 the Swedes occupied the Norwegian provinces Jamtland and Herjedalen, which became Swedish in 1645; they even held Trondhjem for a time. The war degenerated into raids with barbarous atrocities, plunder, and slaughter of women, children, and prisoners. The Danes asserted that they were only retaliating for the insane acts of Eric XIV, who had given orders to burn and ravage foot by foot and who gleefully noted in his diary the cruel wiping out of village after village.

In 1565 the Swedes won two decisive naval victories over the Danes whose heroic admiral, Herluf Trolle, was mortally wounded. Klas Kristersson Horn, the greatest naval hero of Sweden, again defeated the united fleets of Denmark and Lübeck, in 1566, dominated the Baltic, and levied duties on all ships passing through the

THE KRONBORG TAPESTRY MENTIONED IN "HAMLET": FREDERICK II AND HIS SON

Sound. But on land Daniel Rantzau was victorious time after time over superior forces pitted against him. In the winter of 1567–68 he penetrated far inland into Central Sweden and, outnumbered, made one of the most famous retreats in the military annals of Denmark, through difficult, hostile country; he was killed during a siege in 1569. Tired of this fruitless war, Denmark and Sweden made peace at Stettin, December, 1570. The Kings of Denmark and Sweden mutually renounced their claims on each other's territories. Sweden was to pay 150,000 rixdollars for the surrender of Elfsborg, and the right to quarter the three Crowns was to be arbitrated upon. Denmark had vindicated her predominance in the North. To mark her dominion in northern seas all foreign ships passing through them were forced to strike their topsail to Danish men-of-war. The Castle of Kronborg was built at Elsinore to guard the Sound and take toll of the ships that passed though it. Frederick II appreciated and employed ability when he found it, and gathered round himself a circle of accomplished servants of State. He bestowed the island of Hveen in the Sound, a pension, a canonry, and the income of an estate on Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), the great astronomer who built the splendid observatory of Uranienborg, where James VI visited him. Tycho Brahe spent his last four years in exile at Prague. After long negotiations with regard to a marriage between James VI of

Scotland and his eldest daughter, on which occasion he was to get back Orkney and Shetland, Frederick II, tired of Scotch dilatoriness, married her to the Duke of Brunswick. James then turned to his next daughter, Anna, and at length, after an ultimatum sent by the Danish Council, the espousals were signed. Anna, on her way to Scotland, was driven back to Norway by witchcraft, it was believed, and the phlegmatic James stole out of his kingdom and celebrated their wedding in Norway, 1589. Frederick II died 1588.

CHAPTER XI

CHRISTIAN IV (1588–1648)

CHRISTIAN IV (1588–1648) was ten years old on his accession to the throne. The State Council nominated four regents to govern in his name till he came of age in 1596. The real rulers of the elective monarchy were the nobility; exclusive, selfish, and decadent, they preferred caste privileges to the welfare of the country; yet they possessed one half of all lands and estates and the peasants were gradually becoming their bondsmen. The young King was an indefatigable worker, full of superabundant energy and of zeal for reform. He explored outlying parts of his dominions; he sailed round the North Cape into the White Sea. He examined with his own eyes all details of the administration. But his great gifts were vitiated by a pleasure-loving nature, prone to excesses. With his great personal courage and military and artistic talents, he was a full-blooded Renaissance type. After the death of his queen, Anne Catherine of Brandenburg, he married, morganatically, Christine Munk, a lady of noble birth, by whom he had twelve children; she was

sent away for infidelity, and one of her maids supplanted her as the King's openly acknowledged mistress. The quarrels between his natural children, among themselves and with his legitimate children, caused the King much grief and misery. The daughters of Christine Munk were married to high officers of State and created countesses.

Christian IV founded and rebuilt many towns in Denmark, Norway, Scania, and Holstein. He drew up himself the plans for, and laid out, the new capital of Norway, Christiania (so called from his name), to which he moved the inhabitants of the old city of Oslo in 1624. Copenhagen was enlarged and embellished, and his splendid Dutch Renaissance buildings are still the pride of that city. Industry and trade were fostered in many ways. A number of chartered companies were established, the Danish East India Company at Tranquebar, a Danish possession in India, the West India Company, the Icelandic Company. Fine ships were built for the navy from his own designs. He increased the navy to three times its strength. But his army consisted mainly of mercenaries, with levies from the peasants on the royal estates.

When Charles IX of Sweden, at his coronation, assumed the title of King of the Lapps of "Nordland"—which included Northern Norway—and granted to the inhabitants of the newly founded city of Göteborg (Gothenburg) the right to trade and fish in those parts, Christian IV forced the

hand of his State Council by declaring that he would make war on Sweden as Duke of Slesvig and Holstein if the Council refused to do so.

The Kalmar War, 1611–13, is called thus from Kalmar, the chief fortress of South Sweden; it was captured by the Danes after a three months' siege, in August, 1611. Charles IX, exasperated by this loss, challenged Christian to single combat, sword in hand. "Herein if you fail we shall no longer consider you an honourable king or soldier." Christian, in his reply, advised the "paralytic dotard," as he termed the old King, to stay by his warm fireside with his nurse. Charles did not long survive this ignominy, and his successor, Gustavus Adolphus, offered to give way on the questions in dispute, but Christian rejected all peace terms. In 1612 he captured the fortress of Elfsborg, defending the only western outlet of Sweden. Some hundreds of the Scottish auxiliaries of Sweden were cut down by the peasants of Gudbrandsdal on their march across Norway to reach Sweden. Sweden had to yield on most points in the peace of Knæröd, 1613.[1] It was the last time that Denmark triumphed over her rival

Christian was jealous of Gustavus Adolphus acquiring the dominion of the northern seas, and set himself to get his younger sons appointed to the secularized North German bishoprics in order to become master of the outlets of the Elbe and

[1] See Sweden.

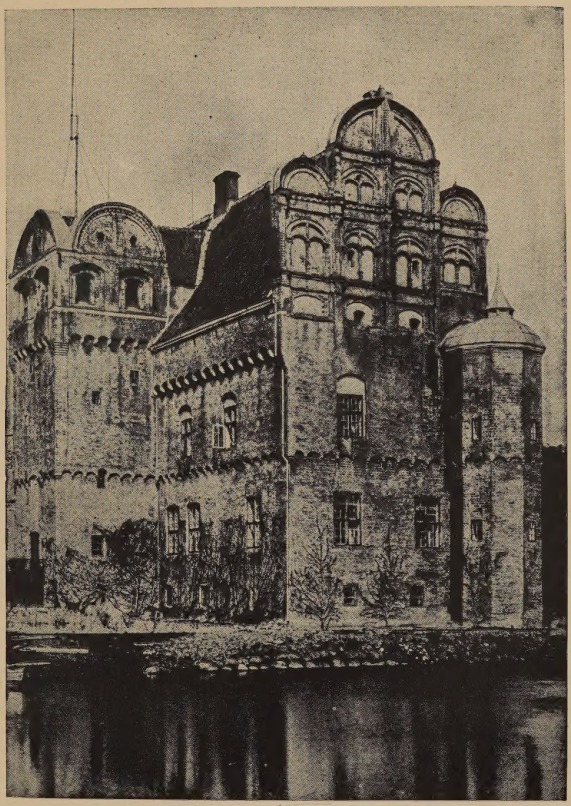
the Weser. He succeeded in this by promising to help the hardly pressed Protestants. Urged by England and France, ill-supported by his German Protestant allies, trusting to vain promises, he invaded the Empire with a mainly German army, 1625. His vigour was impaired by a fall from his horse on a rampart, which rendered him unconscious for a time. He was opposed by Tilly, later joined by Wallenstein, and was beaten in a decisive battle at Lutter am Bärenberg, near Brunswick, August 27, 1626. His German allies abandoned him. In 1627 Wallenstein overran Holstein and Slesvig, and the entire peninsula of Jutland fell into the hands of his mercenaries, who ravaged and plundered the lands of the "heretics" to their hearts' content, with wanton cruelty. Christian, in Funen, was quarrelling with his State Council and looked on, helpless to avert disaster. The Emperor now began to aim at dominating the Baltic and extirpating the Lutheran heresy. Wallenstein was nominated "General of the Baltic and Oceanic Seas" and vested with the duchies of Mecklenburg. Jutland was to become Spanish, Poland was to be helped against Sweden, and the Dutch trade was to be excluded. In 1626 Stralsund, which was important for the "Baltic General," was besieged, and the Kings of Denmark and Sweden forgot their jealousy and jointly sent reinforcements to relieve the garrison, while Christian with the combined fleet captured the adjacent islands and kept the sea open.

CHRISTIAN IV

Wallenstein had boasted that he would take Stralsund "though it were slung with chains between earth and heaven," but the garrison, animated by Sir Alexander Leslie who commanded the Scoto-Swedish auxiliaries, defended themselves so gallantly that Wallenstein was compelled to retire with heavy losses. At a peace conference in Lübeck, from which the Swedish ambassadors were ignominiously excluded, exorbitant demands were raised at first by the Emperor, but Wallenstein granted better terms in May, 1629. The conquered provinces were restored to Denmark, which renounced the secularized bishoprics and all right of interference in the Empire, abandoning its allies and the Protestant cause.

Among the King's sons-in-law the most prominent were the brilliant Korfits Ulfeld, Lord High Steward, married to Leonora Christina, the most gifted of the royal daughters, and Hannibal Sehested, who showed great ability as viceroy of Norway. While they supported the King at first, they turned against him when he came into collision with the discredited aristocracy. Christian tried to mediate in favour of the Emperor during the Thirty Years' War to prevent Sweden from becoming too powerful in the Baltic. He refused exemption from Sound customs to Sweden's new provinces, and hampered her trade and navigation. Oxenstierna saw that Denmark stood in the way of Sweden's hegemony of the North, and that the moment to strike had come. He sent

secret instructions to Torstensson, who marched from Moravia and crossed the Danish frontier in December, 1643. With the rapidity of lightning he occupied the whole peninsula of Jutland in a few weeks. In this danger Denmark was only saved by the personal exertions of the sixty-seven-year-old King who spent days and nights in equipping his navy and levying men. In April, 1644, a Dutch fleet sailed to help to transport Torstensson to the islands; the King beat it on the west coast of Slesvig and it returned to Holland. In June, 1644, a Swedish fleet of forty sail came to take Torstensson to the islands. Christian met it in a hard-fought ten hours' battle off Kolberger Heide. His heroism on this occasion has been celebrated in the Danish national hymn, written by Evald. A gun exploded on the quarter deck where he stood, and splinters of wood and metal wounded him in thirteen places, destroyed one eye, and felled him to the deck. He rose at once, said he was not hurt, and remained on deck encouraging his men until the Swedish fleet withdrew into Kiel Bay, where it was blockaded, but escaped, and the Danish admiral who was to blame for this was shot by the King's orders. A combined Dutch and Swedish fleet attacked a Danish fleet near Laaland and took or destroyed fifteen out of seventeen ships; the Danes were outnumbered by more than two to one. Christian was now forced to make peace at Brömsebro, on the Swedish frontier on August 13, 1645. The oft-



HESSELAGERGAARD CASTLE

contested provinces, Jamtland and Herjedalen, and the islands of Ösel and Gotland were ceded to Sweden, and Halland for thirty years, as a security for the exemption from Sound customs dues of Sweden and her new provinces. These customs decreased to one fourth of their earlier volume. The nobility had a great share in this disaster, and in his bitterness the King said: "They care not for God, King, or country, but only for their own selfish interests." His own son-in-law, Ulfeld, humiliated him and triumphed over him. He died in 1648, after a reign of fifty-two years, at the age of seventy-one. His heroic valour and devotion to the welfare of his country was a gleam of hope in the disasters and misfortunes which overtook Denmark. The maritime genius of the Danes was embodied in him, who had a marvellous knowledge of the minutest details of shipbuilding and navigation.

CHAPTER XII

ABSOLUTISM—GRIFFENFELD

FREDERICK III was not elected till four months after his father's death, when he had signed a charter which still further curtailed the royal power. He was learned, taciturn, and reserved, utterly unlike his father. His ambitious Queen, Sophie Amalie of Brunswick, at once quarrelled with Leonora Christina and Ulfeld, the leaders of the aristocracy. Hannibal Sehested, another of their leaders, was found guilty of peculation and surrendered his huge estates and his seat in the Council to get a pardon. Soon after Ulfeld and his wife fled to Holland, July, 1651, on account of similar charges, while he was thought to be implicated in a fictitious plot to poison the King and Queen. The King took foreign affairs into his own hands when he had succeeded in disgracing these leaders of the nobility. He seized the opportunity when Charles X was beset with difficulties in Poland to declare war on Sweden, though he had only vague promises of support and his army was ill-prepared for war.[1]

[1] For the war, 1657–60, see Sweden.

The heroic defence of Copenhagen by King and commons had discredited the nobility still further. Its exemption from taxes grated on the public conscience. Frederick III saw that the time had come to strike a decisive blow at the oligarchy of nobles. His chief helpers in the revolution which made Denmark an absolute monarchy were Burgomaster Hans Nansen and Hans Svane, Bishop of Sjaelland. The Estates assembled in September, 1660. The burgesses and clergy claimed that the new indirect taxation should apply to the nobles who, after bitter resistance, were forced to yield to "slaves who ought to keep within their limits," as they called them. After securing the garrison and the armed citizen forces, the Estates of Burgesses and of the clergy offered Denmark as a hereditary monarchy to the King in return for his deliverance of it during the war, and called on the nobles and the Council to concur, but they refused; their leader, meeting Burgomaster Nansen in the street, pointed to the State prison and asked if he knew it, but the burgomaster's answer was to point to the alarm bell of Our Lady's Church which was used to call the citizens to arms. The guards were doubled, the gates closed, the citizen forces armed, whereupon the King asked the Council to give an answer quickly; his threat cowed them and on October 13th they concurred with the other Estates and made over Denmark as a hereditary monarchy to Frederick III and his heirs male and female, the

privileges of the Estates to be maintained. A commission was named to discuss the question of the charter and the coronation oath; the charter was surrendered to the King and he was released from his oath. Supreme power was placed in his hands and he was asked to issue a new constitutional charter, according to his good pleasure, "as to His Majesty should seem best for the general welfare." On October 18, 1660, the solemn ceremony of homage to the hereditary monarch was performed by the different orders and ranks in an amphitheatre erected in the public square opposite the Royal Palace; he promised to rule as a Christian hereditary king and gracious master and as soon as possible to give a Constitution, fair and just to all classes. Every one kissed the hands of the King and Queen and a great banquet at the palace inaugurated the new absolutism. The promised Constitution was never heard of any more after that day and the Estates of Denmark did not meet again for nearly two centuries. The archives of the State Council were removed to the palace, as a sign that it had ceased to exist. In January, 1661, a document was drawn up and circulated for signature throughout the Danish dominions by which the signatories declared that they conferred on the King and his male and female heirs absolute government and sovereignty and rendered him homage as their hereditary absolute lord and sovereign. The nation abdicated in favour of an absolute monarch, above all human

laws. The new Constitution of the absolute monarchy, Lex Regia, was written by the King's secretary, Peter Schumacher; it was signed by Frederick III on November 14, 1665, but kept secret till his death in 1670.

It conferred on the King personally the whole legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the State. He, acknowledging no superior but God in affairs civil and spiritual, holds the sole and exclusive authority of making, repealing, amending, and interpreting the laws, with the right of exempting any one he pleases from obeying them. The only restriction on his absolute authority was his profession of the Protestant religion according to the Augsburg Confession and maintenance of the kingdom undivided. By Article 26 the Lex Regia was declared to be irrevocable, and all persons attempting to alter or infringe it guilty of high treason.

This was indeed the logical carrying out of absolutism to its last consequences. Lord Molesworth, the British Ambassador at the Danish Court, in his *Account of Denmark as it was in the year 1692*, says the Danish people hug their chains, "the only comfort left them being to see their former oppressors in almost as miserable a condition as themselves, the impoverished nobles being compelled to grind the faces of the poor tenants for their own subsistence." The administration was reorganized and divided into five colleges, *i. e.*, boards or departments of State, a centralized

bureaucracy. But all matters of importance were decided by the King, who consulted at his pleasure one of the members of the newly established Privy Council. Lucrative posts formerly held by the nobility were filled by men of low birth who were the most obedient instruments for executing the will of the autocrat. Korfits Ulfeld, after being subjected to ignominious treatment in prison, fled abroad; one of his intrigues against Frederick III was his offer of the Danish Crown to the Elector of Brandenburg. For this he was beheaded and quartered *in effigie* in Copenhagen and a pillory erected on the site of his house, which was pulled down. He died in exile. His noble and gifted wife, Leonora Christiana, was delivered up by Charles II, having fled to England, and for twenty-two years suffered harsh indignities in a dungeon from which she was only released at the death of her rival, Queen Sophie Amalie. Her memoirs of this time bear witness to her high-minded fortitude of soul.

Peder Schumacher, Denmark's greatest statesman since Absalon, was the son of a wealthy citizen in Copenhagen. Extraordinarily gifted, he was sent abroad to study at universities and royal courts, 1654–62. He resided in Germany, Holland, and then (1657–60) at Queen's College, Oxford. He was an eyewitness to the Restoration, and Hobbes's views impressed him deeply. He was in Paris when Louis XIV laid the foundations of the centralized monarchy whose adminis-

tration and culture were imitated all over Europe. On his return Schumacher became librarian of the newly founded Royal Library, then the King's secretary. He was steadily rising in the King's favour, the only stepping-stone to power.

Frederick III wobbled cautiously between the various coalitions in Europe in 1660–70; during the Anglo-Dutch War the Dutch East India fleet found a safe retreat in the harbour of Bergen against the squadron of Lord Sandwich sent to intercept it.

Frederick III died in 1670, and on his deathbed said to his son, "Make a great man of Schumacher, but do it slowly." The first act of the weak, shallow, vain Christian V (1670–96) was to appoint Schumacher secretary of the Privy Council, when he handed him the secret Lex Regia, confided to him alone by the late King. He became Privy Councillor and was ennobled as Count Griffenfeld, from the griffin surmounting his arms. In 1671 the titles of Count and Baron were introduced, and an ordinance of rank was issued which graduated all honour and precedence; the order of Dannebrog was instituted to mark the royal favour. The new aristocracy of merit—and of favour—was to oust the old aristocracy of birth. The administration was systematized and made efficient. The Privy Council was to consist of the heads of the Government boards; the administration under Griffenfeld's superior insight and direction became more efficient. In 1673, he was

created Knight of the Order of the Elephant—otherwise reserved for royal persons—and Grand Chancellor; thereafter he devoted himself to foreign policy. His aim was to keep peace, recover the power and prestige of Denmark, and secure her by her alliances which brought subsidies, without sacrificing neutrality. Christian V and his generals chafed at his temporizing and dilatory policy; they were eager to reconquer the lost provinces from Sweden. The King one day submitted to his all-powerful Chancellor fifteen points as to which he desired him to be more cautious in future. On March 11, 1676, Griffenfeld was arrested. The charges against him were mainly of peculation; the most serious one was a note in his private diary: "To-day the King talked like a child to the ambassadors." His written appeal to the King for mercy, his marvellous defence before an extraordinary court, composed of his enemies, availed nothing. He was sentenced to lose life, honour, and goods. His escutcheon was broken asunder on the scaffold, but as he lay there awaiting the deathblow of the executioner's axe, the King's pardon and commutation of the sentence to prison for life arrived. "May God forgive you, I was so ready to die," he broke out; a lingering death of twenty-two years in a severe prison, deprived of writing materials, was the end of a statesman of whom Louis XIV said he was without his peer in Europe. Danish autocracy broke the genius who laid its basis and founda-

tion; Griffenfeld's cruel and undeserved fate was the most grievous loss that absolutism could inflict not only on its own efficiency, but on the rank that Denmark held among the nations of Europe.

Ole Römer (1644–1710) discovered the velocity of light, and was a pioneer in the invention and improvement of astronomical instruments. The laws of Denmark were codified and published in 1683.[1]

[1] For the Scanian War, 1675–79, see Sweden.

CHAPTER XIII

ABSOLUTISM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

FREDERICK IV (1699–1730) was twenty-eight years old when he ascended the throne. He had been so badly educated that he was not even able to write German, the language spoken at Court, correctly, and still less Danish or French. His scanty stock of knowledge hampered him a good deal in later life. At twenty-one he went on a long journey to Italy, and acquired a love for art which found expression in his efforts to embellish Copenhagen. In spite of his numerous amours he worked diligently for the welfare of his subjects, and won his people's love by the way in which he, the absolute monarch, could talk to his humblest subject and sympathize with him.

Relations with the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp soon became strained. Duke Frederick IV was married to a sister of Charles XII, and his policy was wholly anti-Danish. Frederick IV of Denmark, a month after his accession, made an alliance with Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, joined later by Peter the Great, against Sweden and invaded the duchies early in 1700.

He took Gottorp but the sudden descent of Charles XII on Sjaelland forced him to make peace at Travendal, August, 1700. He conceded full sovereignty to the Duke with the right of building fortresses in Slesvig and paid a war indemnity. The Duke was killed in the army of Charles XII at the battle of Klissow in Poland, 1702.

Denmark now enjoyed some years of peace. The King tried to create a national army and to form a permanent militia; he built the forts of Trekroner and Prövestenen to defend Copenhagen from the seaside, put the navy on a better footing, and introduced economy into the public finances.

For a long time the "Vornedskab," a kind of serfdom, had existed among the peasants and tenants in Sjaelland, Lolland, Falster, and Möen; tenants were not allowed to leave the estate on which they were born, and they were bound to take the dwelling-house or the work assigned them by the landlord. This was doubtless favourable for agriculture, but not for the peasants. The Vornedskab was introduced to promote agriculture, and even free peasants could be compelled to stay on their farms and till the land. The Vornedskab cannot be compared with Russian serfdom, and it did not extend to women. Frederick IV realized its injustice, and in 1702 he abolished it for all peasants born after his accession. But soon it was found that their emancipation was too sudden; instead of tilling the land they

left their farms. Then the "Stavnsbaand," which existed till 1788, came into use; it resembled villenage, and was worse than the Vornedskab.

To form a militia, the King ordered that, in proportion to their lands, landed proprietors should provide recruits, who were to serve six years, for military service. The men inscribed on the military rolls were not to be allowed to leave the estate where they were inscribed without the landowner's permission. Christian VI abolished the militia ordinance soon after his accession, but reintroduced it in 1733; all men between fourteen and thirty-six years of age were to be inscribed on the rolls and thus bound to the soil. In 1764 it was extended to the age of four, peasants' sons being inscribed at that age. The masters decided which peasants were taken for military service, and they often refused them permission to leave the estate. Even after doing military service the peasant was bound to take the farm his master chose to give him, as he could punish him with more military service if he refused. Thus the peasant had no incentive to be industrious, and became a lazy laggard. And the Stavnsbaand which was established to promote agriculture gradually had the opposite effect.

Frederick IV again declared war against Sweden in her hour of need in 1709. He wished to break the alliance between Sweden and Holstein-Gottorp in order to recover Slesvig. He made a journey to Italy in 1708, and concluded an alli-

ance with the kings of Poland and of Prussia on his way back. He thought the moment favourable with Charles XII as a fugitive in Turkey after Poltava, and landed in Scania with fifteen thousand men in 1709; successful at first, he was beaten in a battle near Helsingborg by the raw peasant levies of Count Magnus Stenbock and evacuated Scania. The war then moved to the German provinces of Sweden. Stenbock again beat the Danish army at Gadebusch, in Pomerania, advanced into Holstein and burnt Altona, December, 1712. Then the Saxon and Russian allies of the Danes came up, and Stenbock, outnumbered, sought shelter in the fortress of Tönningen, which he surrendered for lack of provisions. Whereupon Denmark occupied the duchies. At sea the Danish fleet was triumphant, especially after the great Norwegian naval hero, Peder Wessel, ennobled and known as Torenskjold, came on the scene. In 1716 he destroyed the transports of the Swedish army in Dynekilen, and in 1719 he took, by a *coup de main*, the impregnable rock fortress Karlsten, and the city of Marstrand.

In July, 1716, Peter the Great arrived in Sjaelland with thirty thousand men to join the twenty-three thousand men provided by Frederick IV, to invade Scania under cover of the English, Danish, and Russian fleets. After two months of mysterious delay by the Danes, the mutual suspicion of the Allies grew so strong that Peter post-

poned the invasion, while it was with the utmost difficulty that Frederick IV was able to persuade his troublesome guest to leave Sjaelland at all. After the death of Charles XII in Norway peace was concluded with Sweden on July 3, 1720, at Frederiksborg. Denmark retroceded her conquests in Germany, Rügen, Farther Pomerania to the Peene, and Wismar in return for a war indemnity of six hundred thousand rixdollars. Sweden promised not to meddle in the affairs of Holstein-Gottorp. Great Britain and France, joined later by Russia and Austria, guaranteed, in separate treaties, *that Slesvig should for ever remain in the possession of Denmark.* In 1721 Slesvig was, by a special Act, incorporated as a dominion of the Danish Crown. This was an important result of this inglorious war.

Denmark was afflicted by a series of national calamities in this reign: the plague in 1711, the inundations of 1717 which devastated the western coasts of Slesvig and Holstein, and the fire that laid two thirds of Copenhagen in ashes in 1728. Undaunted, the King husbanded the resources of the country, reduced the national debt, built a large number of schools and the castles of Fredensborg and Frederiksborg, introduced a regular postal service, opened the first Danish theatre in Copenhagen, 1722, sent missionaries to the East Indies, to Finmark, and to Greenland, where Hans Egede, "the apostle of Greenland," did noble and grand work among the Eskimos.

In 1695 the King had married Louise of Mecklenburg, by whom he had five children; but during the Queen's life he married to his left hand, morganatically, Helene von Viereck, in 1703; after her death her place was taken by Charlotte Schindel. Next he fell in love with the young Countess Anna Sophie Reventlow. He abducted her, and was married to her morganatically for nine years during the lifetime of his Queen, thus committing bigamy a second time. When the Queen died, he married Anna Sophie Reventlow two days after the funeral, this time to his right hand, and then crowned her as his Queen, in spite of the angry opposition of the royal family. His ideas of the sacredness and absolute power of Royalty led him to suspect his ministers and the old Danish nobility of trying to encroach on his privileges. With all his faults he was loved by the common people, who loathed his son, Christian VI.

Christian VI was thirty-one when he ascended the throne. His whole appearance was unsympathetic. His voice and his face were equally disagreeable. His tutor, and his Lord Chamberlain, Count Holstein, the later Premier, were Germans, serious and deeply religious men who gave him a good, pietistic, German education. He was sorely aggrieved when his father married Anna Sophie Reventlow while his mother, Queen Louise of Mecklenburg, was still alive. He hated the young Countess whom his father married

immediately after the Queen's death. He himself married Sophie Magdalene of Brandenburg-Kulmbach; she was pious and religious but at the same time ambitious and extravagant, of weak health, sulky and fretful. The Court was a dull place where people were bored to death. Christian VI had the best will in the world to make "his children," as he called his subjects, good Christians and good citizens, but he had not the gift to please them. He was shy and awkward, and became more and more inclined to a melancholy pietism which considered all amusements to be sinful; balls and plays were prohibited at Court. He moved from one palace to another, strictly guarded. The people were kept at a distance from the Palace by heavy iron chains, and they had to uncover when passing near the Palace, and consequently seldom approached it.

Denmark was not involved in war during his reign. He rebuilt the University, burnt down in 1728, and gave it a new and greatly improved charter, 1732, founded the Academy of Sciences, 1742, and built a School of Arts. But all literature, even scientific, was subject to the censorship of pietistic clergymen.

He developed the navy and commerce and navigation, but his efforts to protect Danish manufactures were not always successful. All work was prohibited on Sundays and on all holy days. Attendance at church was compulsory; those who failed to attend were fined or put in the stocks

which were provided at every church. In 1736 the confirmation of children by clergymen was introduced, and in 1737 a General Church Inspection College was established in order to supervise the teaching and the conduct of every clergyman and teacher, and see that people attended church, also to censor books before publication. As its members were fanatic pietists, it gave rise to general hypocrisy and demoralization.

To gratify the whims and caprices of the Queen Christian VI spent huge sums in building splendid palaces; he pulled down the new-built Copenhagen Castle and erected in its place Christiansborg Castle, which was on too large a scale for his kingdom. Hirschholm Castle was built at great cost on a swamp merely because the Queen so desired; she lived there for fourteen years after the King's death as Queen Dowager. No other Danish Queen saw so little of her subjects, but she gave freedom to the peasants on her estates, the present Hörsholm.

Frederick V (1746–66) had been educated in this narrow German pietism, but, as a natural reaction, he became a total contrast to his father. He took no interest in religious matters, and his subjects were much relieved to find that he abolished all restrictions on their joys and pleasures and intellectual life. Pleasure-loving, kind, and good-natured, he soon became a popular favourite. At the age of twenty-one he married Louisa, daughter of George II of England. Her beauty

and charm won the heart of the Danish people. The Royal Theatre which had been closed for sixteen years was reopened, and the plays of Holberg, the Danish Molière, were acted again. A joyous time had succeeded the age of kill-joy.

The King took little interest in affairs of State, and Denmark was governed by prominent statesmen, Count Bernstorff, Count Schulin, and Count Moltke. Peace was maintained, though the danger of a war was great in 1762. Peter III of Russia was Duke of Holstein-Gottorp when he succeeded to the throne in 1762, and his one idea was to take revenge on the secular enemy of his duchy, Denmark. The Russian army advanced through Mecklenburg, but Denmark took up the challenge and sent forty thousand men into Mecklenburg to meet them, while her large and well-equipped fleet dominated the Baltic. The hostile armies were within touch of each other when Peter III was suddenly dethroned by Catherine II, July 9, 1762. She was wholly averse to this war, and made peace with Denmark.

Johann Hartwig Ernst, Count of Bernstorff, was the chief ruler of Denmark in 1750–70. He was not only a great foreign minister, but one of the ablest and most upright ministers Denmark ever had the good fortune to possess. He came of a Mecklenburg family, settled in Hanover, and never learnt the Danish language. He did much to assist and promote industry, agriculture, com-

merce, science, and art. It was natural that he looked to Germany for light and leading. He invited men of letters and scientists from abroad to settle in Denmark, Klopstock, Basedow, Oeder, Mallet, and others. Danish literature was resuscitated by the genial favour of the Court, and the Norwegian dramatist, Ludvig Holberg, "the father of Danish literature," had free scope for his activity. The Asiatic or East India Company flourished under royal protection, and as a mark of gratitude erected a fine statue of the King on horseback in the Palace Square.

Unfortunately the King was prone to low pleasures and excesses, and even his marriage to the beloved Queen Louise did not make him give up that life. They had five children. She died in 1751, deeply mourned by King and people. Frederick V now wished to marry a daughter of Count Moltke, with whom he had fallen in love, but Moltke, then Premier of Denmark, refused his consent, and hurriedly arranged a marriage between the King and Juliane Marie of Brunswick, 1752. Their son, Prince Frederick, was the father of the later Christian VIII of Denmark. Frederick V died of an illness caused by excesses in drink, 1766, at the age of forty-two.

He appointed a Commission to improve the lot of the peasants, and men like Bernstorff and Moltke introduced hereditary leaseholds on their estates. But, for reasons of economy, the royal estates, where the peasants were com-

paratively well treated, were sold to German and Danish noblemen, and the position of the peasantry became gradually worse and verging on serfdom.

CHAPTER XIV

CHRISTIAN VII AND STRUENSEE

CHRISTIAN VII succeeded his father at seventeen years of age, in 1766. His mother died when he was but two years old, and his father neglected his education. He was a handsome boy, weak and nervous from his earliest childhood, with a bent for vices inherited from his father. His character was shallow and superficial and easily influenced. His tutor, Count Reventlow, was brutal and ignorant. He beat and punished the timid, capricious boy who, to escape punishment, concocted a whole system of deception and simulation. Under this guidance he inevitably deteriorated. When the Swiss, Reverdil, was appointed tutor, he saw that the boy was mentally abnormal and had been cruelly treated; he tried to gain his confidence by kindness, but it was too late. All his good natural qualities had been poisoned by ill-treatment, and he took a malicious delight in cunning deception and pretence and in trickery. He had been forced to learn the Bible in a mechanical soulless way, and in consequence religion was ridiculed by him. Many of the young

pages at Court, his playmates and comrades, were depraved and dissolute and made him a debauchee. His bright vivacity and natural gifts might have been turned to good account by careful guidance; now they all turned into symptoms of madness and imbecility. A boy of seventeen, depraved in mind and body, was thus the absolute monarch of Denmark and Norway.

For a few months after his accession it seemed as if he realized his responsibility. He abolished the villenage of peasants on certain Crown estates, and asked his father's ministers to stay in office. But soon his vicious habits reasserted themselves. He spent days and nights in the company of drunkards and loose women, dancing along the streets in wanton revelry, breaking windows and waking up peaceful citizens. He liked to show his power as an autocrat by discharging old and tried servants; he dismissed his old minister, Count Moltke, in 1766, and in 1767 the very able and efficient heads of the army and of the navy, and his faithful tutor, Reverdil. The only person for whom he still had some respect was Count Bernstorff, who was sorely grieved to see the future of Denmark entrusted to such a King.

A marriage was arranged between Christian VII and his cousin, the English Princess Caroline Matilda. She was the posthumous child of the Prince of Wales and a sister of King George III. Despite her own will she became, at the age of fifteen, the queen of a king barely seventeen years

old of whom many evil reports had reached England. She had never seen Christian VII when she was first married to him by proxy; then she was married on her arrival in Denmark, November 8, 1766. The coronation of the royal couple took place on May 1, 1767. The young Queen possessed all the charm and innocence of youth, and the Danish people greeted her with an outburst of joy and delight.

Caroline Matilda on her arrival in Denmark was a mere child, unable to wield an influence over the King, who after a short honeymoon began to loathe her. Inexperienced, without friends, environed by a corrupt Court in a foreign country, she did not know how to treat the King, whose conduct went from bad to worse. After the depraved Count Holck became his most intimate friend he abandoned himself to low dissipation; with his drunken comrades he visited bars and public-houses, where His Majesty used to break glasses, bottles, and furniture to pieces and throw them out of the windows. Even the birth of an heir to the throne early in 1768 made no difference in the King's conduct. The young Queen, who was spied upon by Holck and his circle, was lonely and unhappy in the midst of these revels.

Soon after the birth of his son, the later Frederick VI, the King went on a journey to the Courts of Europe. On his way a German doctor at Altona, Johann Friedrich Struensee, was intro-

duced to him; he was so pleased with him that he proposed he should accompany him on his tour as his physician; on the King's return to Denmark Struensee was retained as Court physician. The King's journey to England and France, May, 1768, to January, 1769, proved a great success. Both in Paris and London it was held that this charming, witty, generous, and open-handed King had been much maligned; he was neither imbecile nor insane. On his return his behaviour towards the Queen changed completely for the better. This was no doubt owing to the strange influence that Struensee had over him; he restored his health and the King obeyed him.

At first the Queen disliked Struensee, who was known as an atheist, of dissolute life and elegant manners. He was thirty-one years old, gifted and handsome and intellectual and spoilt by women. But she acknowledged that the change in the King's conduct was owing to his influence. Her authority increased as the King sank gradually into hopeless imbecility. She began to admire Struensee, who preached to her the gospel of Rousseau and the Encyclopædists. He courted her and won her heart. She fell deeply in love with the libertine and adventurer, for whom she was but a means to snatch to himself the supreme power in the State. Already in January, 1770, he had become her lover. The King, for whom Struensee seemed indispensable, desired him to live at the Royal Palace. He was appointed

CAROLINE MATILDA

reader to the King and secretary to the Queen. He increased her influence over the King, and he was in her eyes the greatest statesman in the world, ready to reform the old monarchy and modernize it from top to bottom. In the summer of 1770 Struensee succeeded in his ambitious plans. Christian VII agreed to send away his boon companion and the Queen's enemy, Count Holck, and on September 13, 1770, he dismissed the great minister who had deserved so well of Denmark, Count Bernstorff. He stood in the way of Struensee, who now appointed his friend, Enevold Brandt, to look after the person of the imbecile autocrat and guard him so that no one should be able to approach him. The Press censorship was abolished the day after Bernstorff was dismissed, and this gained Struensee popular favour. He soon got tired of the complicated machinery of the State, and in December, 1770, he abolished the Council of State and appointed himself "Maître des Requêtes." All reports from the departments of State to the King were to pass through his hands first. He was the medium through which the King made known his, *i. e.*, Struensee's will. He aspired to a still higher pinnacle. On July 14, 1771, he was appointed "Geheimekabinetsminister," *i. e.*, practically sole minister or dictator, and a few days later he was created a Count. He was given authority to issue Cabinet orders in the King's name, with the seal of the Cabinet; they were to be as valid as

royal ordinances with the royal signature, and it was his duty to put in writing the verbal orders of the King. As if to show that he and not the King was the real ruler he ordered all letters and petitions to the King to be sent to the secretary of the Geheimekabinetsminister.

Struensee had now more power in his hands than any private person in Denmark below the throne had ever wielded. He and the Queen were the unrestricted and absolute rulers. The King signed every document that he was asked to sign. Still he had lucid intervals. He hated Brandt, who sometimes ill-treated him in his fits of frenzy. He was apparently aware of the relations between Struensee and the Queen which were known to all; he sometimes ridiculed both them and himself for that reason. In the summer of 1771 the Queen gave birth to a daughter, Louise Augusta, and a Te Deum was ordered to be sung in the churches as a thanksgiving, but everywhere the congregation walked out of church when it was to be sung, in the firm belief that the child was Struensee's. Even the King made difficulties in acknowledging the child as his daughter.

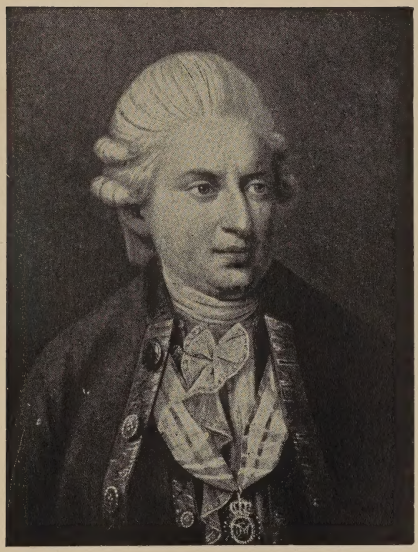
Struensee was a fanatical adherent of the ideas of enlightenment and reform promulgated by the Encyclopædists and Rousseau, and he wanted to put them into practice in what he thought was an effete monarchy which needed revolution, root and branch. Believing in freedom for the peasants he appointed a Commission to improve their

conditions. But his sweeping reforms were based on abstract principles, with lack of statesmanlike knowledge and regard for ingrained customs and prejudices. Being himself a German who never learnt Danish he did not try to understand the needs and wants of the Danish people. He wanted to force his will upon them and thus caused resentment; he often chose wrong ways and means to do good. Moreover, he was devoid of moral principles, fond of pleasure, and of a domineering character.

For about sixteen months he was absolute master of Denmark, and during that time inaugurated numberless reforms; though many were unmade at his fall, yet they have left their mark on Danish history. He saw the necessity of exact control of the income and expenditure of Court and State, and established a Finance Board to deal with and unify such matters. He abolished judicial torture, and capital punishment for theft, and democratized the law courts and the Copenhagen municipal council. He laid down certain qualifications for holding public posts; formerly they were often given, as a favour, to the servants of men of influence. He carried reforms too quickly and with a high hand. He dismissed the staffs of public departments, to raise their efficiency and save money, without pensions, and put in new men. During the last thirty-eight weeks that he held absolute power he issued, in his reforming zeal, no less than one thousand and sixty-nine

Cabinet orders. But he had the prudence to leave foreign affairs in the hands of Count Osten, and did not meddle with them.

Soon the number of his enemies increased, while public opinion was disgusted and contemptuous. He outraged the moral and religious sense of the people when he issued an ordinance that adultery and unchastity should not be punished in future, established foundling institutions, converted a chapel into a hospital for venereal diseases, permitted public masquerades in their worst form, introduced State lotteries, and permitted gambling. The Danish nobility detested the German adventurer who had made German the indispensable medium of communication with the Government. It was found more than once on the occasion of riots that he lacked personal courage. A powerful secret conspiracy against him was formed by the Queen Dowager, Juliane Marie, the King's stepmother, her son, Prince Frederick, the later Premier, Guldberg, the officer commanding the regiment guarding the Court, and others. At five o'clock in the morning of January 17, 1772, after a *bal masqué* in the Palace, the conspirators burst into the King's bedroom, and made him sign an order to arrest Struensee, Brandt, and several others, and to send Queen Caroline Matilda to Kronborg Castle. The imbecile King rubbed his hands, delighted that he was now taking revenge for ill-usage of himself, and he was actually acclaimed by the people as he was driven



STRUENSEE

round in state next day. Struensee was next arrested in his bedroom and chained to the wall in his prison. He was prosecuted for usurpation of the royal authority, for *lèse-majesté*, and for injury to His Majesty's honour. He denied everything at first, but learning that the Queen, too, was a prisoner he confessed the nature of his relations with her. He and Brandt—for personal violence to the King—were sentenced to a barbarous and vindictive mode of execution. On April 28, 1772, first the right hand was cut off, next the head, whereupon the head was set on a pole and the body drawn and quartered.

The Queen, at that time not yet twenty-one years old, was imprisoned in Kronborg Castle at Elsinore with her infant daughter. She shielded Struensee, but, confronted with his confession, she confessed the truth. On April 6th an extraordinary court of thirty-five members sentenced her to be divorced from the King, but her imprisonment for life in a Danish fortress was prevented by her brother, George III of England, who believed her innocent. He demanded that she should be treated as an English princess, and an English man-of-war arrived at Elsinore to escort her, but alone, without her infant daughter, to her brother's electorate, Hanover, where she resided for the rest of her life in the old castle of the town of Celle. She was loved by the townspeople, and she lived there for nearly three years. Plans by British and Danish malcontents, in

consultation with her, to depose Christian VII by a military *pronunciamiento* and seize the reins of government at Copenhagen came to nothing. She died of smallpox on May 10, 1775, not yet twenty-four years old. At twenty her career as Queen, which began with her triumphal entry in Copenhagen at fifteen, was over.

CHAPTER XV

FREDERICK VI—DENMARK AND ENGLAND—THE LOSS OF NORWAY

THE Danes were jubilant over the revolution, not realizing that in reality it was a reactionary measure and that the new men were anti-progressives. They continued to govern by Cabinet orders, and Guldberg himself, though he was the moving spirit of the Government, 1772–84, held no office but that of secretary to the King and later State Secretary. His character was conservative to a degree, and he abolished the reforms of Struensee, the good with the bad. The Danish language took the place of German in the Civil Service and in the Army. The liberty of the Press was confined in narrow bounds and the condition of the peasants deteriorated. A. P. Bernstorff, who had the statesmanlike gifts of his uncle, was made Foreign Minister, but Guldberg favoured Russia and was unfriendly to England, while Bernstorff was a great admirer of British institutions. They disagreed, and when Denmark joined the League of Armed Neutrality at the bidding of Russia, in 1780, the Russian Ambassador per-

suaded Guldberg to have Bernstorff dismissed because of his friendly attitude to England.

Discontent with Guldberg's reactionary tendencies grew rife, and the first act of the sixteen-year-old Crown Prince, Frederick, on taking his seat in the State Council, April 14, 1784, was to have him dismissed; this was a complete surprise for Guldberg.

The Crown Prince, born in 1768, had a very unhappy childhood. Struensee tried to harden the weak constitution of the boy in various painful ways. After his mother's divorce from the King no one cared for or was kind to him. The Queen Dowager neglected his education and detested him. Though shy and awkward he was very industrious and took a deep interest in national Danish matters. Even while he was a mere boy he mused on assuming the reins of government. After consultation with A. P. Bernstorff he succeeded, on April 14, 1784, in getting his father's signature to a document by which Bernstorff was appointed Premier and Guldberg who only eight days before had assumed that office was dismissed. Assisted by such men as Bernstorff, Reventlow, Schimmelmann, and others the Crown Prince regent ruled Denmark during the King's insanity, 1784 to 1808.

A happy and successful period of reform began. Commerce flourished as never before, and Bernstorff steered the ship of State through the storms of war and revolution that raged in Europe.

Though the Crown Prince believed in the sacred rights of royalty he worked hard for the welfare of his people. He was anxious to free the peasants as soon as possible. A Commission, guided by Reventlow and Colbjörnsen, inquired fully into the question, and on June 20, 1788, the "Stavnsbaand" was abolished. The grateful peasants erected the so-called "Liberty Column" in Copenhagen in 1792 in memory of their emancipation and in gratitude to the Crown Prince.

In 1780 Russia promulgated a code of maritime law maintaining the principle, "a free ship makes the cargo free," and refusing to recognize the right of search for contraband in neutral ships. Denmark and Sweden joined Russia in a League of Armed Neutrality, an alliance for the protection of neutrals. Their cruisers convoyed and protected their merchantmen. In 1794 a separate alliance was concluded between Denmark and Sweden for the same purpose. On July 25, 1800, the Danish frigate *Freia*, with the merchantmen it convoyed, was taken into the Thames, after a fight against English cruisers. After the convention of August 29, 1800, between England and Denmark, the *Freia* was restored and the convoying of ships ceased. The Armed Neutrality League of 1780 was renewed in December, 1800, by Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia. England laid an embargo on all Danish and Norwegian ships on January 14, 1801, two days before Denmark ratified the Neutrality Treaty with Russia.

The Russian Emperor, Paul, expelled the Danish Ambassador because he was not sufficiently anti-English.

England's answer was to send a fleet of 53 sail, including 20 ships of the line, to the Baltic, under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson. It passed the Sound off Elsinore on March 30th, unharmed by the guns of Kronborg Castle. On April 2, 1801, Nelson, with 35 ships, including 11 ships of the line, 1192 guns, and 8885 men, attacked 7 dismasted blockships, two ships of the line, and some floating batteries and gunboats, with 5063 men and 630 guns, under Olfert Fischer, in the port of Copenhagen. We must add the fort of Trekroner with 66 guns and 931 men. Most of the Danes were raw recruits and university students, but Nelson declared afterwards it had been the hottest fight he had ever been in. After five hours' desperate fighting, when six of his ships of the line were aground, exposed to the fire of Trekroner, he sent a message to the Crown Prince with a letter: "He would spare Denmark when no longer resisting, but if the firing were continued he would be obliged to set on fire all the floating batteries he had taken with their brave crews." The letter was addressed: "To the Brothers of Englishmen, the Danes." The Crown Prince at once agreed to a truce of twenty-four hours. Nelson now wrote: "that he will ever esteem it the greatest victory he had ever gain'd if this flag of truce may be the

happy forerunner of a lasting and happy union" between England and Denmark. The Danes had 375 dead and 670 wounded, Nelson 350 dead and 850 wounded. The eighteen-year-old Peder Willemoes fought Nelson's flagship in a little gunboat for four hours, and lost 80 out of 120 men. Nelson declared to the Crown Prince that Willemoes deserved to be made an admiral for his masterly manœuvring. On April 9th an armistice of fourteen weeks was concluded. Denmark ceased to be a member of the Neutrality League. On April 8th news reached Copenhagen that the Emperor Paul had been assassinated in his bedroom in the night between March 23d and 24th. Thus in less than six months the Armed Neutrality League was dissolved. There was an outburst and a renascence of poetry and of national pride in Denmark after April 2, 1801 (Grundtvig, Oehlenschlaeger, and others).

[Napoleon himself spoke in enthusiastic terms of the heroic defence of the Danes to the assembled foreign ambassadors, and declared that the Danes had reminded the English that they were their old conquerors.

The British Order in Council of January 7, 1807, prohibiting neutral merchantmen from trading between French ports or the ports of the allies of France, ruined the flourishing commerce of Denmark, especially in the Mediterranean. In July, 1807, Napoleon and Alexander I agreed, by the Treaty of Tilsit, that France and Russia

should jointly call on the governments at Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to close their ports to, and declare war on, England; any of the three governments that refused to do this was to be treated as an enemy. On August 3, 1807, Napoleon wrote to his ambassador at Copenhagen that Denmark must now break off all intercourse with Great Britain. There is little doubt that the Crown Prince regent, who was with the Danish army, guarding the southern frontier of Holstein, would have refused this demand which infringed Danish neutrality, but, before it actually reached him, his hand had been forced by England. Relying on a demonstrably false rumour that the Danish fleet was fitting out against England, and disregarding the advice of his own ambassador in Denmark, Canning secretly sent a fleet of 25 sail of the line, 40 frigates, and 377 transports to the Baltic; 30,000 soldiers under Lord Cathcart, with General Wellesley (Wellington) as second in command, were on board. The fleet, commanded by Admiral Gambier, arrived in the Sound early in August, 1807. A special ambassador proffered the English demand of alliance or war at Copenhagen. The decision, however, lay with the Crown Prince regent at Kiel. If England had only waited a few days more, Napoleon's peremptory demand would have reached him first and compelled him to side with England. But Canning sent the high-handed Jackson to Kiel, where he demanded from the

Crown Prince the delivery of the Danish fleet into English hands to remain there till the close of hostilities; offering him simultaneously the choice between alliance or war. Jackson bandied high words with the Crown Prince, and gave him eight days' grace. The Crown Prince hurried to Copenhagen and put it in a state of defence, but when Jackson arrived there he had gone back to Kiel. Jackson, on the expiry of the ultimatum, went on board the fleet August 13th, Sjaelland was blockaded, and siege was laid to the ill-prepared Copenhagen, which was garrisoned by 13,000 untrained men, mostly volunteers. To hasten its surrender the city was bombarded, September 2d to 5th. The University, the Cathedral, and three hundred houses were burnt or destroyed. Copenhagen capitulated on September 7th. All ships, stores, ammunition, and naval fittings were delivered to the English, and all its arsenals were emptied; 17 ships of the line (14 of them of 70 guns and over), 12 frigates, 8 brigs, and 35 gunboats, valued by Gambier at £2,000,000, were carried away to England. The British expedition was to leave Sjaelland within six weeks of the armistice. English ships continued to cruise round Sjaelland, and the Danish island Anholt was occupied by an English garrison, 1809–14.

Filled with righteous anger at this unprovoked attack, the Crown Prince concluded an alliance with Napoleon, October 31, 1807, whereupon England declared war on Denmark, November

4th. A Franco-Spanish army under Bernadotte, stationed in Jutland and Funen, was prevented by British ships from crossing to Sjaelland in order to invade Scania, and in August, 1808, eight thousand eight hundred Spanish troops escaped on board English ships to assist in the rising of their countrymen against Napoleon.

The poor lunatic Christian VII had such a bad shock at the sight of the French and Spanish soldiers marching through the town where he resided in Holstein, that he died soon after, March 13, 1808, and the Crown Prince, who had been regent since 1784, now succeeded him as Frederick VI, at a fatal moment in the history of Denmark.

When a Russian army marched into Finland on February 21, 1808, Denmark, bound by the terms of her Russian alliance, was embroiled with Sweden, and compelled to declare war on her, February 29th. Norwegian troops under Prince Christian August, the viceroy of Norway, were victorious in many small skirmishes in the Norwegian border territories, but a tacit and informal truce was arranged when Adlersparre marched to Stockholm to depose Gustavus IV, March, 1809. Frederick VI planned the re-establishment of the old union between Denmark, Sweden, and Norway through his election as King of Sweden. He might have succeeded, if he had been willing to give up absolutism and grant a free Constitution to all three kingdoms. Far from that he was the ally of Russia with whom he had secretly schemed to

conquer and retain possession of South Sweden. Prince Christian August was therefore elected heir to the Swedish throne, but on his sudden death Frederick VI was again a candidate for the throne. He had made peace with Sweden in December, 1809, on the terms of *status quo*.

All Europe was leagued against Napoleon, and little Denmark was his only faithful ally who did not desert him, even after his disastrous campaign in Russia. King and people were filled with resentment against England. The Danish merchantmen were swept off the seas by Britain, but Danish privateers and improvised gunboats seized many British ships, their prizes in 1810–12 being valued at nearly four million pounds. The total prohibition of the import of British goods and the exclusion of all ships touching at British ports ruined trade and industry. On the 1st of January, 1813, Danish bank-notes had sunk in value to one fourteenth of their face value; Denmark was in a state of bankruptcy.

Meanwhile the new Crown Prince of Sweden, Charles John (Bernadotte), had induced Alexander I of Russia to help him to win Norway as a compensation for the loss of Finland. It was held out to England, August, 1812, as an inducement to agree to this, that she might occupy Kronborg Castle at Elsinore and make it into a Gibraltar of the North. Norway suffered from famine, all communications with Denmark by sea being cut. Discontent was rife and separatist tendencies

were voiced openly. The heir to the Danish throne, Prince Christian Frederick, crossed to Norway in a fishing boat, disguised as a fisherman, May, 1813, and took over the viceroyalty. Handsome and splendidly gifted, he became a great popular favourite. By a new treaty of alliance with Napoleon, July 10, 1813, Denmark undertook to contribute 12,500 men to the French army in North Germany.

After the battle of Leipsic, Bernadotte marched into Holstein. The Danes fought bravely in a skirmish at Sehested, but Frederick VI bowed to the inevitable. By the Treaty of Kiel, January 14, 1814, he ceded Norway, except Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroes, to Sweden and the Isle of Heligoland to England, which gave back the Danish colonies she had conquered. In return Denmark received Swedish Pomerania, Rügen, and one million rixdollars. Rügen and Pomerania were exchanged in 1815 with Prussia for the duchy of Lauenburg and two million rixdollars.

The impoverished Danish people had bitter feelings against the King, who was largely to blame for these disasters as he clung so obstinately to the alliance with France. Denmark was dismembered through the loss of Norway, which had been united with her for more than four hundred years; she was utterly humiliated by the abduction of her splendid navy, and she was bankrupt. Frederick VI personally attended the Congress of Vienna in the hope of getting better

terms from the Allies; he did not succeed, but he attracted a good deal of sympathy. Hard-working as he was and conscientious according to his lights he was received like a victor by his Danish subjects on his return.

It was a relief in the midst of the prevailing gloom that literature flourished. The Golden Age of Danish literature reached maturity in the generation of 1810–30. The names of Oehlenschlaeger, Grundtvig, Baggesen, Sören, Kierkegaard, H. C. Andersen are among the greatest in the history of Danish literature. But Frederick VI himself took no interest in literature. He did his best to heal the wounds of the war and put the finances on a sound footing, and the nation began to recover slowly. The people had hoped that the King who had given freedom to the peasants would also realize the necessity for giving a free Constitution to the nation. Absolutism seemed to them to be out of date. But for years their hopes were destined to disappointment. After the July Revolution, 1830, the stagnant waters began to move. In 1831 the King promised to establish consultative provincial chambers or estates. They began to sit in 1834.

Frederick VI, who was small of stature and sickly, though hardened by training, had an engrossing interest in military matters. He established a public school system for Denmark in 1814, which was one of the first in Europe. The Court language had long been German, and he

was the first really Danish king for centuries. He spoke Danish and loved it. A reaction against the use of German sprung up among the Danish people. German had been more frequently used than Danish by the higher officials. The nobility conversed in German, and the Germans of the duchies considered themselves the more cultured and civilized part of the monarchy. But with the Golden Age of Danish literature the people began to be proud of their language and nationality. No officials unable to speak Danish were any longer appointed in Denmark or in Slesvig. King and people were at one in reinstating and upholding Danish nationality.

The consultative estates were four, one for the islands, one for Jutland, one for Slesvig, and one for Holstein. A supreme court for the duchies was set up at Kiel and a central administration for the duchies at Gottorp. This tended to strengthen the bonds between the duchies. It ran counter to the fact that Slesvig was an old Danish province while Holstein was a German duchy, governed by the King of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein.

The Liberals, dissatisfied with the consultative estates, still pressed for a free Constitution, but Frederick VI was a thoroughgoing Conservative. To a deputation petitioning him against a proposed limitation of the liberty of the Press, he declared: "We alone can judge what is truly for the good of our kingdom and people." He ab-

horred Constitutions. Still he was sincerely mourned at his death, 1839. Narrow-minded and obstinate, he was a hard, honest worker all his days. One may smile at his fondness for, and imitation of, the militarism of Frederick the Great, but his fifty-five years on the throne had endeared him to his subjects, and he worked diligently to repair the disasters of his reign. He had eight children, of whom only two daughters survived him; the elder married Prince Ferdinand, a brother of Christian VIII; the younger married Frederick VII, the son of Christian VIII.

CHAPTER XVI

CHRISTIAN VIII—SLESVIG AND HOLSTEIN

WITH the accession of Christian VIII a new era was inaugurated. Born in 1786, he was handsome and highly gifted, a man of learning, a lover of art and science. During his travels abroad he met the beautiful Princess Charlotte Frederike of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. He married her in 1806, but divorced her in 1809 on account of her infidelity. They had one son, the later Frederick VII. As a prince he loved Norway and favoured the establishment of a university at Christiania, in 1811. Frederick VI therefore appointed the popular Prince viceroy of Norway in May, 1813, thinking thus to knit new and strong ties with his Norwegian subjects. After hairbreadth escapes from English cruisers Prince Christian landed in Norway, and in a short time wholly won the hearts of the Norwegians. He refused to accede to the Peace of Kiel and was elected King of the restored kingdom of Norway on May 17, 1814. After a reign of five months he was compelled to abdicate and leave Norway.[1] Frederick, loyal to his treaty

[1] See Norway.

engagements, was angry with the Prince and called him back. After his return to Denmark Prince Christian married Princess Caroline Amalie of Augustenburg, 1815. They travelled abroad for four years, and at home gathered round themselves a distinguished circle of men of letters and of scientists. The Prince was made a member of the State Council in 1831; he took a warm interest in the establishment of the consultative chambers. The Liberals felt convinced that he would grant a free Constitution on his accession, and were much disappointed when he showed no intention to do so, and even refused it when asked. He re-established the Icelandic Althing.[1] Denmark prospered in his reign; art and science, agriculture and manufactures flourished and the first railways were built.

Christian VIII did little to check the growing danger of a racial struggle in the duchies; during his reign the relations between Danes and Germans in Slesvig became more and more strained. Danish policy with regard to Slesvig had led to its gradual Germanization. It had been incorporated in Denmark in 1721, England and France guaranteeing to the Danish Crown the perpetual possession of it. South Jutland, as it was originally called, had thus come back to Denmark, but it was no longer wholly Danish. The Danish language was not used in its administration, before the law courts, or at church, but, notwith-

[1] See Iceland.

standing, the common people continued to speak Danish and the linguistic frontier between German and Danish receded only slightly northwards. The Danish kings were not interested in maintaining the Danish language and nationality. Frederick IV, after the incorporation of Slesvig, made no attempt in this direction. Again in 1767 Catherine II resigned the claims of her infant son to Gottorp and to Holstein and ceded them to Denmark in exchange for Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. This treaty was finally ratified in 1773. Still German continued to be the official language of Slesvig, and all the highest posts and offices continued to be held as formerly by Germans from the University of Kiel.

When the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved by Napoleon in 1806, Frederick VI, the Crown Prince regent, declared Holstein to be hereafter part of the Danish monarchy, and, after the Congress of Vienna, he entered the newly established German Confederation in his capacity as Duke of Holstein and Lauenburg. Thus Germany acquired a right to interfere in the affairs of Holstein, and, indirectly, of Slesvig. The nobility of Holstein, who possessed most of the landed estates of Slesvig, promulgated the view that the two duchies had been united, not only in law, since 1386 and 1460, but from time immemorial.

Relying on a promise given when the German Confederation was established that all the states composing it were to be granted Constitutions

the Holstein nobility demanded a Constitution not only for Holstein but also for Slesvig. When their request was refused by Denmark, they complained to the Federal Parliament, which, however, declared that Slesvig was wholly outside its domain, as it did not belong to the German Confederation. Nevertheless the serious mistake was committed of establishing a common government for the duchies at Gottorp and a court of appeal, common for both, at Kiel. Germanization went on apace, aided by the authorities; the flood was only stemmed by the sturdy and intelligent peasantry of North and Central Slesvig, who rallied to patriotic leaders and saved the Danish language in South Jutland.

Duke Christian of Augustenburg and his brother Prince Frederick of Noer, the leading family in Slesvig, were enemies of Denmark. Though only great landowners and not reigning dukes, they were related to the Danish Royal Family. Their intrigues for the succession to the Danish Crown were based on the fact that the sister of Frederick VI, who, though really Struensee was her father, was regarded as a legitimate Danish princess, had married their father Duke Frederick Christian of Augustenburg. Through their mother they had thus hopes of succeeding to the Danish throne, as Frederick VI had no sons. They wished to be entrusted with governing the duchies, and when their uncle appointed another man in that coveted position they allied themselves secretly

with the German Separatist party, much as they disliked its democratic tendencies. In 1830 Uwe Jens Lornsen formulated the program of this party according to which the duchies were independent and united states, subject to the Salic law, in personal union with Denmark under a common sovereign. He was imprisoned and died in exile in Germany.

At the end of his reign Frederick VI desired to learn the real facts about the status of German and Danish in the duchies, and called for reports, but the German officials acceded to his wishes in such a way that the true reports never reached him.

Christian VIII tried to hold the scales evenly between German and Danish, in a vague and irresolute way. In 1842 he committed the unpardonable mistake of appointing Prince Frederick of Noer governor of the duchies and head of the administration at Gottorp. He may have wished to attach the sympathies of the Augustenburg family to Denmark, but, on the contrary, the new governor became a centre of disaffection against Denmark. National feeling in Denmark was roused. Peder Hjort Lorenzen was excluded from the Slesvig Diet in 1842 for attempting to address it in Danish, his mother-tongue. The National Liberal party in Denmark now turned all its sympathies to Sweden and Norway. United Scandinavia was its program. But Christian VIII did not look with friendly eyes on this new "Scandinavism."

To pacify the Germans and prevent quarrels in the consultative chambers, he decreed in 1844 that deputies were permitted to speak Danish in the Diet of Slesvig only if they were able to prove that they were not conversant with German. The Danes were angry at this decree. Europe must now think, they said, that Slesvig was a wholly German country. The decree did not even satisfy the Germans in the duchies. The Danes in Slesvig realized that they must depend upon their own strength, if their Danish nationality was not to be utterly lost.

The Slesvig-Holstein Separatists held that only the male line of the Danish royal family were the rightful heirs to the duchies. The question of the succession was highly important, as Christian VIII had only one son, the later Frederick VII, and he had been twice divorced without having any children in either of his two marriages. Since there were no other male members of the royal family, it was necessary to elect the nearest successor of a female line, unless the Crown Prince had issue. The Separatists pointed out that consequently the Duke of Augustenburg was the rightful heir to the duchies, as a male descendant of the ducal line of the royal house. Christian VIII, anticipating this danger, published an open letter in 1846 to the effect that, as the result of an examination by a Commission of the question of the succession, the order of succession in Denmark was valid for Slesvig and

Lauenburg, but doubtful as regards Holstein. He also promised not to change the old Constitution of Slesvig or its union with Holstein. This declaration caused much discontent. The Duke of Augustenburg protested against it, and the Prince of Noer resigned as governor of the duchies. The Holstein Diet complained, though in vain, to the German Confederation. The Separatists took the royal declaration as a recognition of their claims. Christian VIII at last saw the necessity for granting a free Constitution, and he was planning it when he died, January, 1848.

CHAPTER XVII

FREDERICK VII—THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY —THE FIRST SLESVIG WAR

His only son of the marriage with Charlotte Frederike of Mecklenburg-Schwerin succeeded him, thirty-nine years old, as Frederick VII (1848–63). His parents had been divorced, and when his father was viceroy of Norway the good-natured but wilful boy was handed to strangers who were unfit to educate him. When his father remarried and went on long journeys, he was again spoiled and pampered and petted by his supposed tutors. He was sent abroad to complete his education, but with his ingrained hatred of learning and books and lessons, all he learned was new pleasures. In 1828 he married his cousin, Vilhelmine, the daughter of Frederick VI. Their marriage was very unhappy. They had no issue, and he behaved so rudely to his gentle and kindly wife that Frederick VI separated them after a six years' marriage and they were divorced. He was sent in exile to Iceland, and then to a garrison in Jutland. Christian VIII, his father, called him back, on his accession, and made him a member of

the State Council. In 1841 he married Princess Marianne of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. This marriage also proved unhappy. He fell in love with a ballet girl, Louise Rasmussen, and at the same time formed an intimate friendship with her lover, Berling, who became his private secretary. His wife left Denmark, 1844, and they were divorced, 1846. Unworthy as these relations were of the future King of Denmark, yet that simple girl and her friend prevented him from sinking lower in the scale of degradation.

When he ascended the throne he wanted to marry Louise, but this was prevented by his ministers. In 1850, however, he created her Countess Danner and married her, in defiance of his ministers. She influenced him strongly in a democratic direction, and his rough good-nature and accessibility won him the love of the people, in spite of his vices. He had often expostulated with his father for his delay in granting a Constitution and had himself drafted one on 1847.

On his accession, January, 1848, Frederick VII asked his father's Ministry to continue in office. He was determined to grant a free Constitution; this had been his dying father's last advice to him. Already, on January 28, 1848, he made known his intention to give a free Constitution, common to all parts of the monarchy. But it pleased neither the Danes nor the German Separatists, the "Slesvig-Holsteiners," as they were called.

Open insurrection broke out at Kiel in March, 1848, instigated by the success of the revolution in Germany; a provisional Government was formed, the claims of Slesvig-Holstein as a single constitutional state within the German Confederation were formulated, and deputies were sent to Copenhagen to lay them before the King. Meanwhile the citizens of Copenhagen demonstrated in a body before the Royal Palace against the Ministry, and their address to the absolute monarch closed with these words: "We implore Your Majesty not to force the nation to the self-help of despair." The King yielded, declared he would lead the Danish people on the paths of freedom and honour, and appointed a new Ministry whose program was to make Slesvig to the River Eider an integral part of Denmark and to grant a democratic Constitution. The constitutional demands went farther than he had intended, but he divested himself of his absolute power with good grace and became the first constitutional King of Denmark. The Constitution was delayed because of the rebellion in the duchies. The Slesvig-Holsteiners desired to belong to the great German Fatherland, where the revolution had triumphed; they made no distinction in that respect between the half-Danish Slesvig and the wholly German Holstein; both were to become part of the German Confederation.

The Prince of Noer was a member of the provisional Government at Kiel while the Duke of

Augustenburg was persuading the King of Prussia to regain his popularity by taking up the cause of the Slesvig-Holsteiners. The rebels occupied the fortress of Rendsburg without resistance as the German-speaking troops of the duchies deserted their Danish commander, but they were badly beaten on April 9, 1848, by the Danes at Bov, near Flensborg, in Slesvig. Prussian and German Federal troops and volunteers, under Wrangel, now marched into Slesvig, and Wrangel with thirty thousand men beat ten thousand Danes in the hard-fought battle of Slesvig, on Easter Day, April 23, 1848. The Danes retired to Dybböl and the island of Als while the rest of Slesvig was occupied. Denmark appealed to the guarantors of the union of Slesvig with Denmark proper; England and Russia, with a view to prevent the rise of German naval power in the fine ports of the duchies, protested at Berlin, and Sweden-Norway transported fifteen thousand men to Funen; they were to join in the war if Denmark proper were invaded. A menacing Russian note caused Wrangel to evacuate in a hurry the part of Jutland he had occupied. Prussia and Germany suffered from the severe Danish blockade of their Baltic and North Sea ports and the capture of their merchantmen, and concluded a seven months' armistice with Denmark in August, 1848, at Malmö. The duchies were to be evacuated by the troops of the contending parties and to be governed by a mixed Commission of five members. But the Slesvig-Hol-

steiners had it all their own way and some Danish peasants rose against their oppression. Denmark therefore denounced the armistice and the war was renewed on April 3, 1849. Superior Federal forces reoccupied Slesvig and, partly, Jutland, and a Slesvig-Holsteiner army invested Fredericia. The garrison at last made a sally on July 6th and captured the entrenchments of the rebels, with all their artillery and two thousand prisoners; the Danish loss was two thousand men and the brave General Rye. An armistice was then concluded. Slesvig was to be administered by a joint Commission composed of one Dane, one Prussian, and one Englishman, North Slesvig to be occupied by Swedish-Norwegian troops, South Slesvig by Prussian troops. The joint administration of Slesvig and Holstein ceased to exist. But, gradually, with the secret connivance of Prussia, the Slesvig-Holsteiners reduced the Commission to impotence and helplessness. Under pressure from Russia and Austria, Prussia made peace with Denmark on July 2, 1850, at Berlin; the *status quo ante bellum* was to be restored and all antecedent rights to be reserved. The rebels, left to their own resources and reinforced by numerous German officers and volunteers, invaded Slesvig. At Isted their army, 33,000 men under the Prussian General Willisen, was wholly beaten in a bloody and obstinate battle, July 25, 1850, by 38,000 Danes. This victory cost the Danes 3600 men. After heavy losses sustained by the

rebels at the siege of Frederikstad their army dissolved, and the Three Years' War, the first Slesvig War, was at an end. The German Confederation was ready to carry out the Peace of Berlin. Holstein was governed *ad interim* by Austro-Prussian commissioners. The difficulty of administering Slesvig had become more serious as the German nationalism in South Slesvig had been strengthened by the war. The customs frontier of Denmark was moved from the river separating Slesvig and Denmark south to the Eider River, the frontier of Slesvig and Holstein. The common administration of the duchies was abolished. Slesvig had her own minister and her own court of appeal at Flensborg. Many Danes were appointed in the places of disloyal officials who had been dismissed.

Denmark had emerged victorious from a war with Germany, and she hastened to repair past mistakes. Formerly German had been the official language at church, in the schools, and before the law courts, even where the population was wholly Danish. Slesvig was now divided into three linguistic districts or belts, to be administered separately—one purely Danish, one purely German, and a mixed or bilingual district. It was unavoidable that the linguistic frontier should in some places be somewhat arbitrary. Complaints, mainly exaggerated and unfounded, reached Germany of Danish tyranny and superciliousness. The national self-confidence of the Danes had

been heightened by a victorious war, and they wished to set free again the down-trodden Danish nationality in Germanized Slesvig which was originally wholly Danish.

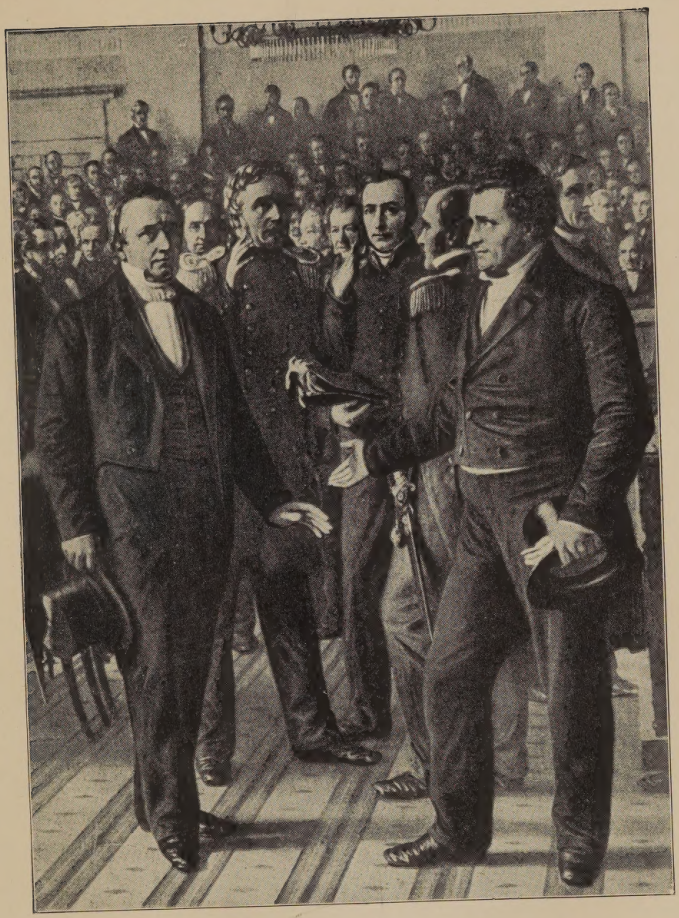
Meanwhile a constituent assembly had been sitting at Copenhagen October, 1848, to June, 1849, to work out the free Constitution of Denmark, and the new "Fundamental Law," which made Denmark one of the freest countries in Europe, was signed by the King on June 5, 1849. The absolute King, in full harmony with his people, surrendered his absolute power, of his own free will. He took as his motto, "The love of my people is my strength," and the people in their enthusiasm overlooked his many faults.

The members of the Lower House (Folkething) were to be elected through a general franchise, those of the Upper House (Landsthing) partly to be elected by a limited electorate with a high census, partly to be nominated by the Crown. All the privileges of the Danish nobility were abolished.

By means of an exchange of notes in 1851–2 Denmark came to an agreement on January 28, 1852, with Austria and Prussia. Denmark, Slesvig, Holstein, and Lauenburg were each of them to have a separate administration but also a common Constitution for affairs common to the whole monarchy. Slesvig and Holstein were to be quite separate, but Slesvig was not to be incorporated in Denmark. This was accepted as a satisfactory

basis of the future Constitution of the monarchy and Holstein was then restored to Denmark. A common Constitution for the Danish monarchy was elaborated in 1855, but on the representation of the German Powers it was repealed as regards Holstein and Lauenburg in 1858. The Eider policy, according to which the frontier of Denmark proper was the south frontier of Slesvig, the River Eider, was the lodestar of the Danish National Liberals, who carried the country with them. The "Unitary" party, who were in favour of placing Holstein in the same relation to Denmark as Slesvig, and linking the whole monarchy together by a common Constitution, had lost their hold on the Danish people.

As Frederick VII had no children and was the last scion of the Oldenburg family, the succession to the throne had to be provided for. At a Congress of the Great Powers in London Prince Christian of Slesvig-Holstein-Sönderborg-Glücksborg was accepted as heir to the throne of Denmark, May 8, 1852. The Duke of Augustenburg resigned his claims in return for a money payment. The Tsar of Russia had already renounced his claims. Charlotte, landgravine of Hesse, sister of Christian VIII, transferred her rights to the throne and those of her son, Prince Frederick, to her daughter Louise, who had been married to Prince Christian in 1842, and transferred all her rights to her husband. On July 31, 1853, Frederick VII signed a bill, vesting the succession to



THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Constitution of June 5, 1849

the Crown in Christian, "Prince of Denmark," and his heirs male.

Endless squabbles with the German powers about the relations of the duchies followed. The steady British support of Denmark was weakened by the strong German sympathies of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. Finally Hall, Danish Premier, 1857–63, proposed to cut the Gordian knot by detaching Holstein and giving a common Constitution to Denmark and Slesvig. Germany considered this a breach of the conventions of 1851–2. This so-called November Constitution was passed by the Chambers on November 13, 1863. Two days later Frederick VII died, without having signed it, at a fateful hour in the history of Denmark.

His reign was a happy time for Denmark. There were no internal dissensions. The people were full of vigour and enthusiasm for their newborn freedom. King and people were as one. Trade and commerce progressed by leaps and bounds. Sweden-Norway was a faithful ally against German aggression. It is true the King's morganatic marriage, which was celebrated by the Bishop of Sjaelland, was extremely unpopular. The Danish nobility did not appear at court, and his secretary, Berling, was sent away, owing to demonstrations in Copenhagen. Frederick VII died on a visit to Glücksborg, November 15, 1863, mourned by his people.

CHAPTER XVIII

CHRISTIAN IX AND HIS SUCCESSORS—THE LOSS OF SLESVIG—CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLES

His successor, Christian IX, was born at the Castle of Gottorp on April 8, 1818. His parents were Duke Wilhelm of Slesvig-Holstein-Sönderborg-Glücksborg and Princess Louise of Hesse, a sister of the queen of Frederick VI and a granddaughter of Frederick V. This ducal line, the Sönderborg line, descended from Duke Hans the Younger (†1622), a son of Christian III. Christian IX was thus distantly related to the Oldenburg family. On the death of his father, who was an officer in the Danish army (1831), Frederick VI became the guardian of the Prince and his eight brothers and sisters. He entered the army, 1835; in 1848 his eldest brother, Charles, bore arms against Denmark while he himself was faithful to king and country. The London protocol, in virtue of which he ascended the throne, is to the effect that: "Since the preservation of the integrity of the Danish monarchy is of high importance for the maintenance of peace, and whereas an arrangement which, excluding females, vests

the succession in all the countries now united under the sceptre of the King of Denmark, would be the best means to assure the integrity of this monarchy," the Great Powers and Sweden-Norway bound themselves, in case of the extinction of the male line of Frederick III, to recognize Prince Christian and his direct male descendants by his marriage with Princess Louise as "heirs to the throne in all the countries now united under the sceptre of the King of Denmark."

Christian IX ascended the throne under difficult circumstances. The victorious war of 1848–50 had inspired the Danish people with overconfidence. The defences of the country and the equipment of the army had been wholly neglected. The Prussian army had just been armed with a new rifle. Those who ventured to call attention to the hard facts and counsel a yielding mood were denounced as traitors. Christian IX realized that his signature of the November Constitution would cause a war with Prussia and Germany. The ambassadors of the Great Powers informed him that he could expect no assistance on their part if he signed and war broke out in consequence. For three days the King refused to sign, but the pressure of the National Liberal Cabinet of Hall and demonstrations in Copenhagen forced him to do so on November 18th rather than abdicate. The Danes thought his refusal was owing to his German sympathies, and for a time he was extremely unpopular. Posterity has done him jus-

tice; he was more clear-sighted than his ministers. Bismarck, now Prussian Premier, and the German Confederation demanded the withdrawal of the November Constitution, the Duke of Augustenburg transferred the rights he had solemnly renounced in 1852 to his son who proclaimed himself Frederick VIII, Duke of Slesvig-Holstein, and German troops occupied Holstein without resistance from the Danes, December, 1863. The Federal execution was in consequence of the denial of the right of Christian IX to succeed in the duchies. Bismarck then induced Austria to join Prussia in occupying Slesvig as a pledge for the observation by Denmark of the conventions of 1851–2. The new Cabinet of Monrad in Denmark remained defiant in the hope of joint intervention by England and France, but Napoleon III refused the armed intervention proposed by Palmerston. Bismarck, who, as he declared later in his *Memoirs*, always meant to annex the duchies to Prussia, sent a forty-eight hours' ultimatum to Copenhagen within which time the November Constitution was to be withdrawn. An Austro-Prussian army of 56,000 men crossed the Eider on February 1, 1864. A Danish army of 40,000 men stood behind the Danevirke, badly armed and equipped; for fear of being surrounded it retreated secretly during the night between February 5th and 6th in severe winter weather. The Austrians hurried in pursuit, and one Danish brigade held the enemy at bay with great bravery

while the army got safely away to Sundeved and Als; part of it retreated to North Jutland. The Danes worked hard at the unfinished trenches at Dybböl, where they defended themselves with admirable courage and stubbornness for over two months, outnumbered, outranged by artillery and rifles far superior to theirs. In March, 1864, England invited the signatories of the Treaty of London to a peace conference in London, but Austria and Prussia refused to negotiate till Dybböl had been stormed. At the end of March the Allies made an unsuccessful attack on the trenches. On April 2d a regular bombardment began which utterly demolished the Danish entrenchments. The Danish commander-in-chief was prohibited by the ministry at Copenhagen, for political reasons, from retiring his worn-out troops from Dybböl to the island of Als. On April 18th overwhelming Prussian forces stormed the Danish entrenchments, now mere rubbish-heaps. It was a hard-contested struggle; the Danish loss was 4700 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, the Prussian, 1200; but the brave defence of the bridgehead leading to Als enabled the army to escape to the island.

A peace conference assembled in London on April 25th, and an armistice was concluded on May 9th. That very day a Danish squadron under Admiral Suenson defeated a Prusso-Austrian squadron under Tegethoff off Heligoland. At the conference Prussia and Austria proposed a

personal union between Denmark and the duchies. This was rejected by Denmark, and so were the various proposals by England, by France, and by Germany for the partition of Slesvig and its delimitation into a German and a Danish Slesvig. On May 12th Prussia and Austria declared themselves no longer bound by the London Treaty of 1852 after the war. They now proposed that the duchies should be governed by the Duke of Augustenburg as a state in the German Confederation. As no agreement was reached war was resumed on June 26th. At two o'clock in the morning of June 29th Prussian troops crossed in flat-bottomed boats to the island of Als, and the little Danish army evacuated the island with a loss of three thousand men. All Jutland to the Skaw was then occupied by the allied troops. Denmark, foiled in her hopes of European intervention, had to sue for peace, which was finally signed at Vienna, October 30, 1864. Denmark ceded Slesvig, Holstein, and Lauenburg—that is, more than two fifths of her territory and population.

Prussia and Austria then maintained that the duchies, now theirs by right of conquest, had rightfully belonged to the Danish Crown and not to the Duke of Augustenburg. Prussia was to administer Slesvig and Austria Holstein, but after the war of 1866 Austria, by the Treaty of Prague, ceded all her rights to Prussia. Napoleon III intervened, with the result that paragraph

V of the Treaty of Prague reads as follows: "His Majesty the Emperor of Austria transfers to His Majesty the King of Prussia all the rights acquired by him in the Peace of Vienna, October 30, 1864, to the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein, with the reservation that the inhabitants of the northern districts of Slesvig shall be reunited to Denmark if, by a free plebiscite, they express the wish therefor."

This paragraph is the great hope to which the Danes in Slesvig cling, even to-day. After the Franco-German War (1870–71) Prussia had her hands free, and, without consulting Denmark or the Danish population in Slesvig, came to an agreement with Austria in 1878 to rescind the promise in paragraph V of the Prague Treaty to retrocede North Slesvig. In spite of the abrogation of paragraph V the hopes of 140,000 Danes in Slesvig are still centred in it. Under such leaders as Gustav Johannsen, J. Jessen, and H. P. Hansen, this fine peasantry not only held its own against attempts at Germanization, but actually gained ground. They were forbidden to use their mother-tongue at school, at church, in the law courts; they were forbidden to sing Danish songs, to wear Danish colours; Danish lecturers and actors were expelled. All this petty persecution was like fuel that made the fire of their patriotism burn all the brighter.

In the Peace of Vienna, 1864, it was decided, in paragraph XIX, that the Danes in Slesvig

were to be permitted to "opt"—*i. e.*, choose whether they desired to be Danish or Prussian subjects, within six years—*i. e.*, till 1870. If they should elect to be Danish subjects, they were to be considered Danish immigrants, settled in Prussia but not naturalized. Many Danes "opted" for Danish citizenship and crossed the frontier, in expectation of the plebiscite promised in 1866. After the abrogation of paragraph V in 1878 most of them returned to their lands and estates in Slesvig. Thereby they lost their Danish citizenship, and could not, after 1870, acquire Prussian citizenship. These unhappy "homeless" people, as the Germans called them, became the victims of the violent Germanization of Slesvig. They possessed no political rights and were treated like "outlaws," at the mercy of German officials who, if they showed the slightest sign of sympathy with the Danish national movement, molested them with domiciliary visits and expulsions over the frontier at twenty-four hours' notice or less. This disability was transmitted to their children. Parents and children on either side of the frontier were prohibited from visiting each other. The notorious von Köller, Governor of Slesvig-Holstein, 1898–1900, expelled no less than one thousand people of the poorer classes. Feelings between Danes and Germans were daily embittered, and people in Denmark at times boycotted German goods to express their displeasure. At last, after the visit of Frederick VIII to Berlin

in 1906, the "Optant" convention between Denmark and Prussia, signed on January 11, 1907, put an end to this intolerable state of things. The children and descendants of Danish optants were to have the right to acquire Prussian citizenship. Thus there will be no optants after the present generation. No less than four thousand at once became Prussian citizens. The Germans, embittered by this strengthening of the Danish element in Slesvig, redoubled their efforts. They bought Danish estates and settled Germans on them. But the stubborn Danes checked all their moves by counter-moves. Every new election shows that North Slesvig is more Danish than it ever was in its history before. The last German move is to enforce the use of the German language at all public meetings, though a delay of some years is granted in the Danish districts before Danish is prohibited at meetings there.

The loss of Slesvig necessitated the revision of the Constitution. The revised Fundamental Law of June 5, 1849, was promulgated on July 28, 1866. It sowed the seeds of future discord. The electoral right for the Upper House was restricted and complicated, and equal powers were given to the two Houses on the joint Finance Committee in case of disagreement between them on the Budget. This reactionary revision of the Constitution caused the Danish democracy to engage in a long struggle to assert the supremacy of the Folkething over the Upper House, the

Landsthing. This began in 1872, when the democratic parties adopted the name "the Left," the Conservatives calling themselves "the Right" party. For nineteen years (1875–94) J. B. S. Estrup governed Denmark against the will of the majority of the Folkething, supported by the King and the Landsthing. He tried to establish the complete equality of the two Houses, and he fortified Copenhagen with money which had been, not voted but refused, by Parliament. All legislation was paralysed and at a standstill, and provisional financial decrees took the place of budgets rejected by the Folkething, more than four fifths of which were in opposition to him in 1884 and subsequent years. There was talk of a revolution, and some people refused to pay taxes which had not been granted by Parliament; an unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of the Premier. Finally, in 1894, the Opposition made a compromise with Estrup. He was to retire, but the illegal use of money to fortify Copenhagen, and the provisional financial decrees, were to be regularized. One Conservative Ministry succeeded the other in 1894–1901, and the struggle between the two Houses continued. While the "Right" (Conservative) party disintegrated more and more, the "Left" grew stronger in the country at every election. At last Christian IX consented to ask Deuntzer to form a Ministry of the "Left," the first parliamentary Cabinet in Denmark. The new Government proposed to sell the Danish

West Indies, St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. Jean, to the United States, but the Bill was rejected by the Landsthing in 1902 by an even vote. Differences between the Radical and Moderate members of the Cabinet came to a head in January, 1905, when Deuntzer and three of his Radical colleagues resigned. J. C. Christensen, as Premier, reconstructed the Cabinet and also took over himself the Ministry of Defence (the Army and Navy). The Radical members of the "Left" formed the Opposition against the Government, which in their opinion was too prone to compromise with the Conservatives.

Christian IX died suddenly, on January 29, 1906, in his eighty-eighth year, full of days and of honours, happy in the love of his people. Frederick VIII, popular in his youth, was sixty-three years old on his accession; he, also, suffered from a weak heart. He had married Louise, the only child of Charles XV of Sweden and Norway, in 1869, and they had four sons and four daughters. His eldest son is the present King of Denmark, Christian X, his second son Charles, King of Norway since 1905 as Haakon VII, married to Princess Maud of England. Crown Prince Frederick was called home from his studies at Oxford University when Christian IX ascended the throne 1863; he was in Slesvig during the war, and was for years a member of the State Council. Frederick VIII continued the policy which his father inaugurated in 1901, and was a strenuous upholder

of parliamentarism. By a visit to Sweden he tried to conciliate the Swedish people, whose feelings had been ruffled through the acceptance of the throne of Norway by his son. He induced the Icelandic Althing to visit Denmark and a Dano-Icelandic Commission was appointed to determine the constitutional relations between Denmark and Iceland, but the result of its labours was not accepted by the people of Iceland at a subsequent election. He visited Iceland with forty members of the Danish Parliament and enjoyed a larger measure of popularity there than any Danish king.

The elections of 1906 increased the parliamentary strength of the Radicals and the Socialists, and the Cabinet of J. C. Christensen lost the absolute majority it had over all other parties together. The Minister of Justice, Alberti, resigned in 1908, and six weeks later gave himself up for fraud, forgery, and embezzlement on a scale unheard of in Denmark. The Ministry was compelled to resign, and a new Cabinet was formed by Neergaard, of the Moderate Left. A commission which was appointed in 1902 to decide by which means Denmark could best defend her neutrality reported in 1908. Neergaard laid a Defence Bill before Parliament, but he soon resigned and a cabinet formed expressly for the purpose by Count Holstein-Ledreborg carried the Defence Bill through both Houses in 1909. Copenhagen was to be strongly fortified

on the sea side and detached advance forts were to be built ashore, in support, but the old illegal land fortifications erected by Estrup were to be left standing till 1922, when it is to be decided by a referendum of the people whether they shall be demolished or not. Stress was to be laid on torpedoes and coast defence by the Navy, which was to have a fortified *point d'appui* in the Great Belt. New taxation, confined to the well-to-do classes, was introduced to meet the increase in military expenditure. Two ex-ministers, J. C. Christensen and Berg, were impeached and, respectively, censured and fined for the lack of supervision that made the embezzlements of Alberti possible, while Alberti was sentenced to eight years' penal servitude.

The next great measure was the constitutional Reform Bill, which, though it had the support of all parties except the Conservatives, could be held up by them as long as they retained their majority in the Upper House. It proposed that the parliamentary suffrage and the eligibility as Member of Parliament should be given to every man and woman at the age of twenty-five. The Upper House was to be elected on a more democratic franchise. The King was to cease to nominate part of its members; they were to be co-opted by the elected members, in future. The revised Constitution was signed by the King on June 5, 1915.

Frederick VIII died suddenly in Hamburg in

May, 1912. Christian X, the present King, is married to Alexandrine, daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and sister of the German Crown Princess. He follows faithfully in the footsteps of his father as a constitutional King, and has endeared himself to his subjects by frequent and informal visits to the most outlying parts of Denmark. The resistance of the Conservatives to the constitutional Reform Bill has weakened, and it is obvious that they will yield in the end. It was passed in the Lower House by 107 votes against 6 and the Radical Cabinet of Mr. Zahle, in power since the elections in May, 1913, after many vain efforts in a joint committee of the two Houses, has at last succeeded in carrying it by the common consent of all parties. Democratic progress in Denmark will then meet with no hindrance on the way to its goal to make the country the freest and best governed in Europe. Already it sets the example to others in agriculture and dairying. The Danes have reclaimed waste land within their borders equal in area to Danish Slesvig, and their country is prosperous beyond their wildest dreams of thirty years ago.

PART II

ICELAND

CHAPTER XIX

ICELAND[1]

THE first undoubted account of the discovery of Iceland is found in Chapter VII of *De Mensura Orbis Terræ*, by the Irish monk Dicuil, written in A.D. 825. He states that thirty years ago (*i. e.*, in 795) some monks told him of their stay in Iceland—Thule, as it seems to have been called by its earliest Celtic discoverers. The heathen Norwegian settlers who came to Iceland in the ninth century found books, bells, and croziers left behind by the monks who fled from the island at the approach of the vikings. A few place-names in the east of Iceland, such as Papey, Papýli, Papós, are the only traces left of these early settlers who were called Papar by the Norsemen.

The first Scandinavian discoverer of Iceland was Naddod or Gardar—the sources differ—about A.D. 860. Raven Floki, who let loose three ravens in mid-ocean and sailed in the direction in which

[1] Students of the early history of Iceland may be referred to Viscount Bryce's luminous essay on the Icelandic Republic in his *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1901.

they flew, was the next. He called the country Iceland (*Is-land*, the land of ice) because from a mountain-top in North-west Iceland he saw a fiord filled with Polar ice. The first Norwegian settler of Iceland was Ingolf Arnarson, about A.D. 874. When after the battle of Hafrsfiord, 872, Harald Fairhair became the undisputed King of all Norway and subjected its free chieftains to taxation, they preferred to emigrate. For sixty years a stream of men of the highest and best blood in Norway landed on the shores of Iceland. Chieftains took with them earth from below the temple altar in the motherland, and placed it in the new temple which they built in the new land. Each chieftain ruled his district or land-take (*land-nám*), as it was called. Iceland was settled in 870–930, partly direct from Norway, partly by Norsemen and Celts from the northern parts of the British Isles. We possess the records and genealogies of many hundreds of the most prominent of these settlers in the Book of Land-takes (*Land-námabóc*). No other nation possesses so full and detailed records of its beginnings.

The chieftains, *Godar* (singular *Godi*), presided at temple feasts and sacrifices, and were, at the same time, the temporal and spiritual heads of the people. They sent Úlfliót to Norway to make a Constitution for the Icelandic Commonwealth. He accomplished this in three years. In 930 a central Parliament for all Iceland, *Althing* or *Althingi*, was established at Thingvellir in South-

west Iceland, and a Law Speaker was appointed to "speak the law." In 964 the number of chieftaincies (*Godord*) was fixed at thirty-nine, nine for each of the four quarters into which the island was divided, except for the north quarter, which was allowed twelve chieftains instead of nine. The Althing, as a court of appeal, acted through four courts, one for each quarter. There was also a fifth court, instituted in 1004, which exercised jurisdiction in cases where the other courts failed. For legislative purposes the Althing acted through a Committee of 144 men, only one third of whom, viz., the thirty-nine Godar, and their nine nominees, had the right to vote. These nine nominees were elected by the Godar of the south, west, and east quarters, three by each quarter in order to give each of them the same number of men on the Committee as the north quarter had. Each of these forty-eight men then appointed two assessors to advise him; one was to sit behind him, the other in front of him so that he could readily seek their advice. The whole Committee was called *Lögrétta* (The Amender of the Law). After the introduction of Christianity, the two Bishops of Iceland were added to the *Lögrétta*, over which the Law Speaker, the sole official of the Commonwealth, used to preside. It was his duty to recite aloud, in the hearing of all present at the Parliament, the whole law of Iceland, and to go through it in the course of the three years during which he held office. The annual meeting of the Althing,

towards the end of June, generally lasted a fortnight. The Speaker had also to recite annually the formulas of actions at law. As no laws were written down till 1117, he had to rely solely on his memory. For his labours he received an annual salary of two hundred ells of woollen cloth, and one half of the fines imposed at the Althing. He was the living voice of the law, and his decisions were accepted as final. The Godar and their nine nominees sat on the four middle benches arranged round a square in the centre, twelve on each bench, while the two assessors appointed by each of them sat, one on a bench behind, the other on a bench in front of the Godar by whom they were nominated.

At the Althing in A.D. 1000 a debate took place about adopting Christianity as the religion of the country. Christian chieftains supported this proposal of the envoys of King Olaf Tryggvason of Norway. To avoid civil war the heathens agreed to abide by the decision of the heathen Law Speaker as to whether the new or the old religion should prevail in Iceland. For three days and three nights the Speaker lay in his tent pondering over the two religions. On the fourth day he stood forth on the Law Mount and declared that the Icelanders were to be baptized and to be called Christians, the temples to be pulled down, but those who liked to sacrifice privately in their homes to the old gods might continue to do so, and some of the heathen customs were to be per-

mitted. This met with acceptance as a wise political move; the hot springs in the neighbourhood were used for the baptism (*i. e.*, immersion) as the men of Northern and Eastern Iceland stipulated that they should be baptized in warm water.

Two bishops, St. Thorlac of Skálholt and St. John of Hólar, were, by a public vote at the Althing, declared to be saints, after a thorough and searching inquiry into the miracles they had wrought. The Icelandic Church was a Church of the people for the people. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries six Benedictine and five Augustinian monasteries were founded, all of them centres of learning and culture; a great part of the old Icelandic literature is supposed to have been written, or at least copied, in them. Two Benedictine monasteries in North Iceland, founded 1133 and 1155, were the earliest. The Icelandic monks wrote in Icelandic, and not in Latin, as all their brethren on the Continent did. They were intensely national, and handed down with scrupulous care even the records of the heathen faith.

The two centuries and a half which followed the introduction of Christianity were the greatest period in the history of Iceland. A great literature sprung up in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at a time when the rest of Europe had nothing better to show than dry annalists, with the single exception of the Provençal Troubadours. At

the courts of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Dublin, and Orkney, Icelandic poets were the only singers of heroic deeds. It was an outburst of literature such as the world had not seen since the downfall of Rome.

Snorri Sturluson (1178–1241) came of the great Sturlung family, and was for many years Law Speaker of the Commonwealth. He wrote the Lives of the Kings of Norway down to A.D. 1177, a work commonly called *Heimskringla*, from words at the beginning of the text. His critical acumen and balancing of evidence, his power of character-drawing, his vigorous and spirited narrative, his humorous touches, put him in the forefront of the historians of all time. His *Edda* is a key to the poetry and mythology of the North. He succeeded in dissuading Earl Skule of Norway from sending a military expedition to Iceland, and became the liegeman of King Hakon, but, siding with the Earl in the quarrel between him and the King, he was murdered at his farm in Iceland on September 22, 1241. His two nephews, Sturla Thordarson and Olaf Thordarson, were the best poets of the time. Sturla (1214–84) wrote *Islendinga Saga*, a history of the civil wars in Iceland, unique for minute details, clear narrative, and faithful impartiality, even to his enemies among his contemporaries. He also wrote the Lives of King Hakon and of King Magnus, of Norway.

The Icelandic clergy were national, and many

chieftains were learned men—both things unique in Europe at this time. The first Bishop of Iceland, Isleif, was ordained at Bremen in 1056, and established the Episcopal see at his family seat, Skálholt. Adam of Bremen, writing about 1070, states that "the Icelanders treat their bishop like a king, for with them there is no king but the law." Gissur, the son of Isleif, succeeded him as bishop; he was so beloved that "young and old, rich and poor, all wanted to sit and stand as he liked." He introduced the tithe in 1096. A census taken about that time gives 4650 yeomen (*bonder*, *boendr*), each of whom had to pay a tax if he failed in his duty to attend the Althing. Gissur, at the desire of the people, established another Episcopal see at Hólar, in North Iceland, to which Jón Ogmundsson was appointed in 1106 by the Metropolitan at Lund. Jón built a cathedral and founded a grammar school at Hólar, and every person in his diocese had to visit him once a year. After his death in 1121 he was declared a saint by the Althing.

The Constitution of the Commonwealth did not provide for any central authority which could enforce obedience to the laws and hold lawbreakers in check. By degrees the chieftaincies passed into the hands of a few great families. In consequence some chiefs became masters of large districts, and, like feudal lords, rode to the Althing with an armed body of retainers, numbered by hundreds. The old blood-feuds became little wars,

and armies of more than a thousand men sometimes took the field. Continual civil wars raged throughout the first half of the thirteenth century, and some of the great families who had monopolized the chieftaincies were exterminated in them. Rome and Norway took the opportunity to assert their supremacy. Gudmund Arason, surnamed the Good, Bishop of Hólar, exhorted thereto by the Archbishop of Norway, demanded the right of jurisdiction over his clergy. The chieftains refused to admit the claims of the Church, and a long and bitter struggle ensued. The Kings of Norway had always held that the Icelanders as Norwegian colonists ought to own their supremacy, though they had in vain tried to induce the Althing to hold this view. King Hakon Hakonsson (1217–63) began to summon Icelandic chieftains to Norway in order to settle their disputes as if he were their suzerain. He interfered, and set chief against chief. Sturla Sighvatsson entered into a secret league with Hakon to conquer Iceland for him and hold it as his liegeman. He attacked chief after chief and sent them to Norway. He, his father, and brother were slain in the battle of Örlygsstad in 1238, by Gissur Thorvaldsson. In the same year the two Bishops of Iceland died and the Archbishop refused to consecrate the bishops elected by the Icelanders, and appointed instead two Norwegians to the sees of Skálholt and Hólar.

Snorri Sturluson, the great historian who wrote

the Lives of the Kings of Norway, was foully murdered on his homestead Reykjaholt by his son-in-law Gissur Thorvaldsson, at King Hakon's instigation, 1241. He had been won over by the King, who promised to make him Earl of Iceland. Through bribery and persuasion and by sending emissaries through the island the King brought about that the Icelandic Parliament passed a Treaty of Union with the Crown of Norway in which they accepted its supremacy; it was agreed to by the different parts of the country at the Althing in the years 1262, 1263, and 1264.

The Treaty of Union enacted that an Earl should represent the King of Norway in Iceland, that the Icelanders should keep their own laws and retain the power of taxation, that they should have all the same rights as Norwegians in Norway, and that "if this treaty is broken and is deemed to be broken by the best men (in Iceland), the Icelanders shall be free of all obligations towards the King of Norway." This treaty has down to the present day remained the charter of liberty of Iceland.

After the death of Gissur Thorvaldsson in 1268 no other Earl was appointed. The old code of laws (*Grágás*), elaborate as the Codex Justinianus, was replaced in 1271 by a Norwegian code of laws. Two Lawmen were to govern the country and the *Lögrétta* was limited to its judicial functions. The Althing did not favour the new code and a compromise code, called *Jónsbók*, after the Lawmen

who brought it from Norway, was passed in 1281, with some changes. Iceland was divided into *sýslur*, counties administered by sheriffs (*sýslumenn*) appointed by the King. The estates of the greatest house in Iceland, the Sturlungs, were confiscated by the King. After Norway became united with Denmark through marriage in 1380, the Treaty of Union was often disregarded and the Icelanders were so hard pressed that they meekly submitted. The Black Death, languishing trade, volcanic eruptions, and Polar ice blockading the coast brought Iceland to the verge of ruin. The fifteenth century is the darkest age of Icelandic history. The port of Bergen in Norway had been granted a monopoly of the Iceland trade. About 1412 the English began to fish and trade in Iceland in spite of repeated prohibitions by the Danish Government. Soon the English buccaneers took the law into their own hands, plundered and killed, carried one Governor of Iceland off to England and killed another. They even built a fort in the south of Iceland, and about 1430 the two Bishops of Iceland were both Englishmen. By favouring the Hanseatic traders, mainly from Hamburg, Denmark succeeded in ousting English trade from Iceland in the course of the sixteenth century. But the so-called "Iceland Fleet" continued to fish for cod and ling in Iceland waters, and the House of Commons in a petition to Henry VIII states that the kingdom will be undone unless the Danish

prohibition of English fisheries in Iceland be rescinded. Henry VIII negotiated with Denmark in 1518 and 1535 about buying Iceland for a sum of money.

The Reformation and the Church ordinance of Christian III were not accepted by the Catholic Bishops nor by the Althing. The Danish Governor's secretary was slain for violence to the aged and blind Bishop of Skálholt, who was carried off to Denmark by two warships in 1541 and died the next year. In the diocese of Skálholt a new Protestant bishop sought to enforce the unpopular new faith which was now accepted by the Althing. On his death (1548) the Catholics and the Lutherans elected a Lutheran and a Catholic bishop for Skálholt. Christian III supported the Lutheran, Bishop Jón Arason of Hólar the Catholic, bishop. Jón Arason, a chieftain in the old style and a fine poet, called for and received promises of help from Pope and Emperor. Solemnly, before the high altar of his cathedral, he swore that he would die before he betrayed Holy Church. He fortified his residence, seized the Lutheran bishop and imprisoned him there, administered the Skálholt diocese, restored the monasteries confiscated by the Danes, and expelled the Danish Governor, 1550. During an attack on a chieftain in West Iceland he was surprised and captured. At the instigation of the Governor's secretary he and his two sons were beheaded at Skálholt on November 7, 1550, but the secretary and

others guilty of this judicial murder were slain in revenge by the people. The New Testament in Icelandic, secretly translated by Odd Gottskálksson, was printed in Denmark in 1540; Jón Arason had imported a printing press and printers some years before. The first complete Icelandic Bible was printed at Hólar, 1584. The Old Testament was translated by Bishop Gudbrand Thorlákssón, and all the fine woodcuts and part of the fount of type were made with his own hands. At the end of the sixteenth century there is a Renaissance of Old Icelandic literature. Arngrim Jónsson (died 1648) rediscovered the treasures of the past and, in his Latin works, brought them to the knowledge of Europe. His *Brevis Commentarius*, 1593, and *Crymogæa* (*i. e.*, Iceland), 1609, were quoted and translated all over Europe. Thormod Torfæus (Torfason, 1636–1719), the Icelandic historiographer of the King of Denmark, continued this work. The Icelandic antiquarian, Árni Magnússon (died 1730), diligently rescued every scrap of old manuscript to be found in Iceland and founded the magnificent *Arna-Magnæan Collection* of MSS. in Copenhagen, devoting all his life and all his money to it. To him it is due more than to any single man that the classic literature of Iceland has been preserved.

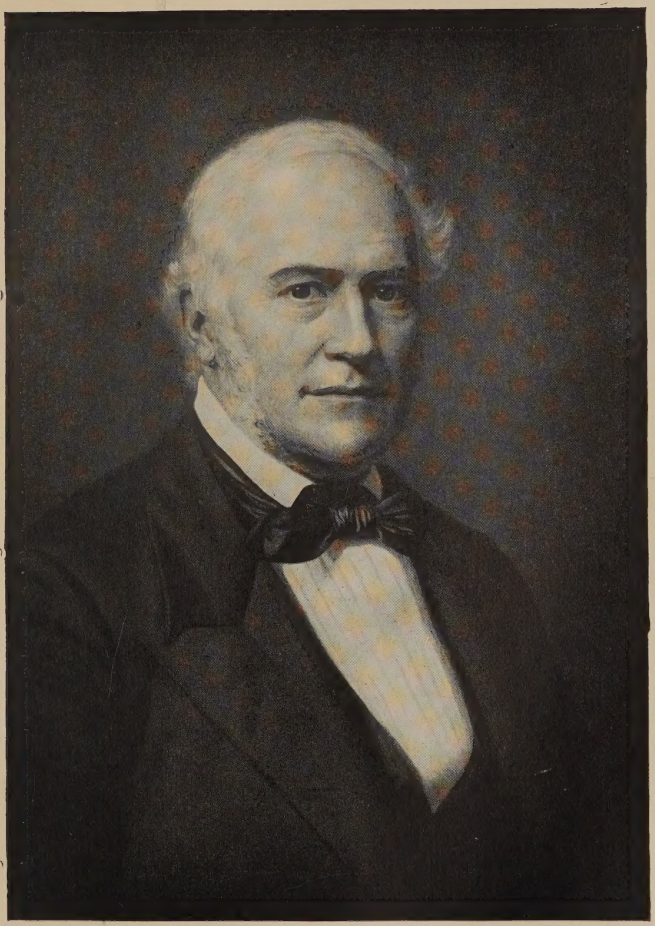
The Hanseatic trade was succeeded by a Danish monopoly of trade which, lasting 250 years, completed the economic ruin of Iceland. It was instituted by Christian IV in 1602 who granted this

monopoly to certain merchants in Copenhagen, Elsinore, and Malmoe. Algerine pirates appeared off the coast in 1627 and carried off hundreds of people into slavery. Smallpox carried off one third of the population, in 1707, famines raged, and volcanic eruptions, especially that of 1783, killed cattle and sheep, reduced the population, and laid waste large tracts of the island. Nature seemed to be in league with man for the utter perdition of the little nation on the verge of the Arctic Circle. During the war between England, 1807–14, English privateers prevented Danish ships from reaching Iceland with corn and other necessaries, but Sir Joseph Banks, who visited Iceland in 1772, persuaded ministers to issue an Order in Council exempting Iceland from the war.

The Althing at Thingvellir was abolished in 1800, and replaced by a High Court at Reykjavik. The two Episcopal sees were united, and the Bishop of Iceland was to reside at Reykjavik.

The national movements in Europe reached the shores of Iceland, and a band of patriots began a struggle to win back the old freedom. Skúli Magnússon and Eggert Ólafsson were the forerunners in the eighteenth century. On March 8, 1843, the Althing was re-established as a deliberative assembly, and when Denmark had become a constitutional monarchy, a national assembly met at Reykjavik in 1851 to draft a Constitution. Denmark proposed to extend her Constitution of 1849 to Iceland, which was to send six members to

the Danish Parliament, but a Committee of the Althing, under the leadership of Jón Sigurdsson, declared that as Iceland, by the Treaty of Union (1262–64) entered of her own free will into union with the Danish (Norwegian) Crown, she claimed, not provincial autonomy, as proposed by Denmark, but a sovereign status, the right of taxation, and ministers responsible to the Althing—in short, a status closely approaching personal union with Denmark. The national assembly was at once dissolved and military interference was threatened. The constitutional struggle went on, under the leadership of Jón Sigurdsson (1811–79), equally eminent as historian, antiquarian, and politician, until the King of Denmark, Christian IX, visited Iceland in 1874 and granted a Constitution, on the occasion of the celebration of the millennial anniversary of the settlement of Ingolf Arnarson in Iceland. It gave to the Althing legislative power, and divided it into two Houses, a Lower House of twenty-four members, and an Upper House of twelve members; thirty of the thirty-six members of both Houses were to be elected by the people at large, and to elect, from among themselves one half of the Upper House, *i. e.*, six members; the other half to be nominated by the Crown. A governor (*landshöfdingi*, chieftain of the land) was to represent the King in Iceland and lay Government Bills before the Althing. The Danish Minister of Justice was to act as Minister for Iceland. This compro-



JÓN SIGURDSSON

mise did not work well. From 1874–1900 more than fifty Bills passed by the Althing were vetoed by the King on the advice of the Danish Minister in Copenhagen. The new Liberal Government of Denmark granted the demands of Iceland in the main. The new Constitution was successively passed by two Althings, the last time in 1903. The Minister for Iceland is to be solely occupied with Icelandic affairs. He is to be present at the sittings of the Althing to which he is responsible, and his tenure of office ceases when he is no longer supported by the majority in Parliament. He must be familiar with the Icelandic language, that is, in practice, be a native of Iceland. He resides at Reykjavik, though he keeps an office in Copenhagen where he goes periodically to submit Bills passed by the Althing for the signature of the Sovereign, and to get his sanction for new, proposed Bills. All measures of importance are to be laid before the King at Cabinet Councils. The Minister for Iceland has a seat in the Cabinet only on such occasions, and the Danish Ministers have no voice in Icelandic affairs unless they concern Denmark too, nor has the Icelandic Minister a voice in purely Danish affairs. As Iceland does not contribute to the Civil List, the Army or the Navy, foreign affairs are wholly left to Denmark. The Althing was enlarged; thirty-four members are elected by the people, and they elect from among themselves eight to sit in the Upper House, leaving twenty-six to form the Lower House;

six members of the Upper House are nominated by the King; thus the Lower House appoints more than one half of the fourteen members of the Upper House. The tenure of office by the Icelandic Minister is determined by the majority in the Lower House. In 1913 a commission was appointed to decide what should be the national flag of Iceland. A white cross with a stripe of red, in a blue field, has won the royal assent.

The revised Constitution of Iceland, sanctioned by the King on June 19, 1915, gives the suffrage to women.

The rebirth of Iceland is above all owing to the great leader, Jón Sigurdsson, on whose monument in Reykjavik his grateful countrymen have put the inscription: "Iceland's beloved son, her honour, sword and shield." The centenary of his birth (1911) was kept as a great national festival. Seldom has it been given to one man to renew the youth of his nation in so many departments of human activity.

PART III

SWEDEN

CHAPTER XX

ORIGINS—THE VIKING AGE AND THE EARLY MIDDLE AGE

THE first historical record of Sweden and the Swedes is found about A.D. 100 in the *Germania* of Tacitus. According to him the Suiones (Old Norse Svíar, Old English Swéon) possessed a powerful fleet which secured their safety from invasions. Ptolemy mentions the Goutai (Old Norse Gautar, Old English Géatas), the Goths after whom Götland is called, Jordanes both Swedes and Goths, Prokopius the Goths (Gautoi) the poem of Beowulf the Geatas. According to Snorri Sturluson the early Swedish kings were called Ynglings, *i. e.*, descendants of Yngvi, son of Niord, one of their gods. They resided at Uppsala with its great temple, thus described by Adam of Bremen in his *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg* (book iv., chap. 26) about A.D. 1070. It was of great splendour and covered with gilding. In it stood statues of the three chief gods: Thor, Odin, and Fricco (*i. e.*, Frey). Every nine years a great festival was celebrated there to which embassies were sent by all the tribes of

Sweden. Of every kind of animal, nine were sacrificed on such occasions and their blood offered to the gods. Near the temple was a grove of peculiar sanctity in which the bodies of the victims, among them human beings, were hung up. Even kings were sacrificed by the people to pacify the gods.

Ansgar preached Christianity at Birca, the chief city and port of the Swedes, situated on an island in Lake Mälaren, in the reign of King Bern (Biorn), about 830, for eighteen months, and also in 853, under King Olof, but the churches founded by him did not long survive his death.

Swedish vikings made themselves masters of the Eastern Baltic. Swedish settlements were found on the south-west and south coast of Finland long before the beginning of the Christian era. The Russian Empire owes not only its foundation but its very name to Swedish vikings, called *Rus* in Slavonic, adopted from Finnish *Ruotsi*, the name which the Finnish coast tribes gave to the *rodds*-men or rowing men from Sweden.[1] According to the Russian chronicles three brothers, Rurik, Askold, and Dir, came across the sea to the Slavonic tribes south of Lake Ladoga about 860 and founded a kingdom there. Rurik (Hroerek), the eldest, ruled at Novgorod (Old

[1] Roslagen is to-day the name of the coast of Uppland, only. Ro(dd)slag was a ship district, *i. e.*, a district bound in time of war to provide a certain number of ships, manned with *rodds-karlar* (rowing men).

Norse, Holmgard). The vikings founded another kingdom at Kiyev on the Dniepr. The two kingdoms were united about 900, with Kiyev for their capital, and their inhabitants were called *Rus*, or *Ros*, after their rulers. This kingdom, called *Gardariki* by the Norsemen (from Norse, *gard*, Russian, *gorod*, a walled town), carried on an extensive trade with Constantinople and the East along the Dniepr—whose rapids bear Swedish names to-day—and the Black Sea. Their fleets in the Black Sea threatened Constantinople (Miklagard). Many vikings took service in the Emperor's lifeguards, the *Vaerings*. Hence they were called Varyags in Slavonic. Gotland was the centre of this trade, and its soil to-day is richer in finds of treasure and foreign coins than any part of Sweden.

King Eric the Victorious was called thus from his victory on the River Fyris, near Uppsala, about 983, over the united army of the famous Jomsborg vikings and the Danes, commanded by his nephew, Styrbiörn the Strong, who was slain. It is said Eric obtained victory by a vow to give himself to Odin at the end of ten years, and he died about 993, after seizing Denmark from King Sven, who was fighting in England. Eric's son, Olaf Sköt-Konung or Skott-Konung, made peace with Sven, who married his mother, Sigrid the Proud. The allied kings defeated and slew King Olaf Tryggvason of Norway in the battle of Svold, A.D. 1000, and became joint suzerains of

Norway till Olaf Haraldsson (later St. Olaf) won it from Earl Sven in 1015. Olaf of Sweden is said to have been baptized by Sigfrid, an Englishman, at Husaby, in West Götland, about 1008, and, after the conquest of England by his stepfather, Sven Forkbeard, in 1013, moneyers from Lincoln coined money for him at Sigtuna. He was preparing for war against Norway when a Norwegian embassy appeared at the Uppsala mid-winter assembly in 1018 to offer peace and friendship and ask for the hand of his daughter, Ingigerd, on behalf of Norway's king. The assembly was held in the open; in the middle the King was seated on a chair, surrounded by his court, while the bonder stood round, in a circle. The Norwegian Ambassador delivered his message, but the Swedish King interrupted him and called Earl Ragnvald of West Götland a traitor when he supported his suit. Then the old Lawman of Tiundaland, Thorgny, rose to speak for the bonder: "Otherwise are the Kings of Sweden minded now than they were of yore. For then they were friendly and accessible to the people, but the King that now reigns wishes to hear only that which pleases him, and is bent on ruling Norway which no Swedish king ere now has coveted. This we bonder will stand no longer, but demand that you make peace with Norway's king and give him your daughter in marriage. But if you will not do as we say we shall attack and slay you as our forefathers used to do with self-willed kings.

Now declare at once which you choose!" The bonder acclaimed this speech loudly, and the King gave way. Ingigerd was betrothed to Olaf of Norway (later St. Olaf), but Earl Ragnvald then substituted her half-sister, Astrid, who was married to Olaf without her father's knowledge, while Ingigerd married Jaroslav, Grand Duke of Novgorod, with whom Earl Ragnvald found refuge.

The Icelandic historian, Snorri Sturluson, to whom we owe this picture of a genuine democracy, writing about 1220, says: "Tiundaland (*i. e.*, the land with ten hundreds or districts, part of modern Uppland) is the best and most nobly peopled part of Svithiod (Sweden), all the realm is subject to it, Uppsala is there, and the king's seat, and the archbishop's see, and thereby is named the Wealth of Uppsala. The Swedes call the Swedish King's estates Uppsala Wealth. Each of these parts of the country has its own Law-Assembly, and its own laws in many respects. A lawman rules each law-district and he has great power with the bonder, for that shall be law which he declares. And if a king, or an earl, or bishops journey through the kingdom and hold a meeting with the bonder, then the lawman answers on behalf of the bonder and they all back him in such manner that the mightiest in the land hardly dare to come to their assembly without the leave of the bonder and the lawman. But whenever the laws disagree, they must all yield to the

Uppsala law, and all other lawmen shall be under the Lawman of Tiundaland."

To save his throne Olaf had to take his son for co-regent, but first the Swedes changed his name, the biblical Jacob, into Norse Anund. Sole king on the death of his father, 1022, he died about 1050 after an uneventful reign, succeeded by his brother Edmund the Old, at whose death, about 1060, the male line of the old Royal Family of Uppsala was extinct.

Stenkil Ragnvaldsson, Earl of West Götland and Edmund's son-in-law, was now elected king. Christianity gained a footing and Adalvard (Ethelwerd) founded the first Swedish bishopric at Skara. Stenkil frustrated a Christian plot to burn the temple of Uppsala. After his death in 1066 civil war raged between the heathen and the Christians. His son, King Inge, was deposed at the Uppsala Assembly because he refused to sacrifice to the heathen gods, but the heathen king who was elected in his place was burnt with his house by Inge, who thus regained the crown. The male line of the Stenkil dynasty came to an end in 1125. In 1060–1125 two English missionaries, David and Eskil, one German, Stephan, and one Swede, Botvid, converted the Swedes to Christianity. But the three last-named died the death of martyrs and many heathens were still found at the close of the twelfth century in the less accessible parts. To many baptized Christians Christ was merely a new god, more powerful than

the old gods. About 1130 Sverker, a chieftain in East Götland who had married the widow of the last descendant of Stenkil, was elected king. He asked St. Bernard of Clairvaux to send Cistercians to Sweden, and they founded the monasteries of Alvastra, Nydala, and Varnhem, each of them a centre of civilization and culture. The Pope sent an Englishman, Nicholas Breakspeare, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, as his legate to organize the Scandinavian Church. After founding the Archbishopric of Trondhjem in Norway, he summoned the first church council in Sweden at the newly established Episcopal see, Linköping (1152). But the rivalry of Swedes and Goths with regard to the site of the proposed archbishop's see prevented its establishment. The Archbishop of Lund became the Primate of the Swedish Church, and Sweden agreed to pay Peter's pence to the Holy See. Sverker only ruled over Gothic Sweden when he was assassinated on Christmas Eve, 1156, for about 1150 the Swedes had deposed him and elected Eric, son of Jedvard (Edward), "a good yeoman," king. Eric IX showed burning zeal in spreading Christianity, assisted by Henry, the first Bishop of Uppsala known with certainty and an Englishman by birth. Eric issued, it is said, important laws about married women's rights to share property. Henry accompanied Eric on his crusade in Finland, about 1157. Eric defeated the heathen Finlanders and compelled them to be baptized. Henry, with Swedish

settlers, remained in Finland, whose patron saint he became after dying the death of a martyr. Eric, while attending Mass in the church of East Aros (the present Uppsala) on May 18, 1160, was surrounded by a Danish army. He refused to cut short the divine service, and then came out and fought his last fight against overwhelming odds. He was slain, but miracles happened at his grave and he became Sweden's patron saint. St. Eric's Mass was celebrated annually on May 18th, and his bones were enclosed in a silver shrine which is still preserved in the Cathedral of Uppsala. The holiest of oaths was "By God and St. Eric," and his standard became the royal banner during the Middle Ages. After avenging Eric's death on the Danes, Karl (Charles), son of Sverker, was elected king, 1161, by all Sweden, —Swedes and Goths. He is the first Swedish king of this name, though later he ranks as Charles VII. From 1161 to 1250 kings of St. Eric's and of Sverker's lineage reign by turns, as a rule. Pope Alexander III established an archiepiscopal see at Uppsala and a Cistercian, Stephan of Alvastra, was consecrated as the first Archbishop of Sweden by the Archbishop of Lund, at Sens in France, in the Pope's presence, 1164. In the same year the Swedes penetrated up the Neva to Lake Ladoga and fought the Russians of Novgorod. Cnut, son of St. Eric, killed King Karl by a surprise attack in 1167. During Cnut's reign, in 1187, heathen pirates, Esthonians and Carelians,

GRAVESTONE OF THE ENGLISH PATRON SAINT OF FINLAND, BISHOP HENRY

rowed up Lake Mälaren, burnt and plundered towns and cities, and even killed the archbishop. A stronghold was then built on the islet of Stockholm (the name probably means an islet defended by palisades, *stock*) to defend the inlet giving access to the lake from the sea. This was the foundation of the capital of Sweden. On the death of Cnut in 1195, Sverker, son of Karl, was elected king owing to the influence of Earl Birger Brosa, whose family, the Folkungs, was the most powerful in Sweden, related by marriage to all the Royal Houses of the North. Sverker, who was Earl Birger's son-in-law, granted to the bishops jurisdiction over the clergy in 1200. By this time tithe had been introduced all over Sweden. After Earl Birger's death in 1202 civil war broke out between the sons of Cnut and Sverker, who took refuge with King Valdemar the Victorious of Denmark, but Eric, son of Cnut, defeated Sverker's huge Danish army in 1208, and killed him in another battle in 1210. Eric X (1208–16) is the first Swedish king of whom it is known with certainty that he was crowned. He married Rikissa, a sister of Valdemar the Victorious. His posthumous son, Eric, succeeded John, the last king of the House of Sverker, in 1222, though he was only six years of age. In his reign a Papal Legate, William of Sabina, summoned a church council at Skeninge, 1248, at which the organization of the Swedish Church was completed. The celibacy of the clergy was introduced. Bishops

were to be elected by the chapters, the canons of the Episcopal sees. The study of canonical law was enjoined on the bishops. The weak King Eric, who was nicknamed "the Lisping and the Lame," was actually dethroned for some years and sought the support of the House of the Folkungs, the leading member of which, Earl Birger of Bjälbo, had married his sister. Birger suppressed all revolts and ruled Sweden in all but name.

After 1240 the Christians in Finland and the Swedish settlement round the city Åbo, a bishop's see, were hard pressed by Carelians and Russians, and Alexander Nevski was victorious against the Swedes. The Pope exhorted the Swedes to go on a crusade to Finland, and Birger carried it out in 1249. He conquered and Christianized Tavastland and built the fortress of Tavastehus. After his crusade the Swedes held Åbo province, Nyland, and Tavastland, but the news of the death of King Eric, 1250, called Birger home from his unfinished conquests. Before he returned, his son Valdemar had been elected king, since not Birger himself but his wife was of royal birth. The angry Birger asked the noblemen how they dared elect his son king without his knowledge. The chieftain, Joar, then declared that if Birger were dissatisfied they could easily elect another king. "Whom will you then choose for king?" asked Birger. Joar answered: "From under my cloak here I, too, might easily let a king come forth." As Valdemar was a child not of age his

father ruled the kingdom. Revolts by pretenders to the crown were suppressed. Trade flourished. He made a commercial treaty with Lübeck. German immigrants taught mining and industrial arts. Stockholm rose to be the chief city of Sweden. Birger fortified it and walled it in. He was a great lawmaker. At Valdemar's wedding he promulgated the law that a sister shall inherit equally with a brother and share equally. Ordeal was abolished and certain degrees of slavery. Every breaker of the home peace, the women's peace, the church peace, and the assembly peace was to be outlawed. Birger married Mechtild, the widow of the Danish King Abel, while his son Valdemar married the Danish Princess Sophia. Birger created his son Magnus Duke of Södermanland. It is the first time the title of "duke" occurs in Sweden. Birger is the last, as he is the greatest, Earl of Sweden, the first of its rulers who deserves to be called a statesman. He died in 1266.

King Valdemar lived wholly for his own pleasures, and his brother, Duke Magnus, after defeating him in battle with Danish assistance, was elected king, 1275. He assumed the title of "King of the Swedes and Goths," instead of the usual "King of the Swedes." He married Helvig, a daughter of the Count of Holstein. German knights were in such favour at his splendour-loving court that Swedish noblemen joined in a conspiracy against them; but Magnus had the

leaders executed, 1280. The peasants called him Ladulås (the one who locks the barns), because he abolished the custom that the nobles when travelling with their retinue through the country took from the larders and barns of the peasants all that they needed without paying for it. This was enacted by the Alsnö Assembly, 1280; and also that all who performed military service on horseback should enjoy freedom from taxation (*frälse*) for themselves and their estates. The armoured knights in possession of this privilege soon became a military caste. He also exempted church property from taxation. Under him Sweden gained such predominance in the North that the isle of Gotland, till then independent, subjected itself of its own free will to Magnus in 1285. Gotland had been for centuries the centre of the Baltic trade, and Visby on its west coast was the largest and richest emporium of trade in all Scandinavia. It was a member of the Hanseatic League, and inhabited by German merchants. On the death of Magnus, 1290, Torgils Cnutsson acted as regent and as guardian of his eleven-year-old son, King Birger. Torgils was a statesman of the type of Earl Birger and Magnus Ladulås. The latter half of the thirteenth century, during which they successively ruled Sweden, was a glorious time, a parallel to the age of the Valdemars (1157–1241) in Denmark. The great provincial laws were taken down in writing. The threats of Pope Bonifacius VIII

against the encroachments of the Crown on the Church were ignored. Eastern Carelia was continually disputed by Russian and Swedes. Torgils went on a crusade to Finland, 1293, subdued the Carelians, and founded the city of Viborg. On his second expedition to Finland he penetrated to Lake Ladoga, drove back the Russians of Novgorod, and built a stronghold at the mouth of the Neva. Thus he completed the civilizing work of St. Eric and Earl Birger in Finland. He arranged an intermarriage with the Royal House of Denmark, King Birger marrying Margaret, sister of King Eric Maendved of Denmark, who, in his turn, married Ingeborg, Birger's sister. Eric, Duke of Södermanland, and Valdemar, Duke of Finland, had designs upon the throne of their brother. Duke Eric betrothed himself to Ingeborg, the two-year-old daughter of King Hakon V of Norway, and the heir to his throne, to support his cause. The Dukes found that they were always worsted by Torgils, and persuaded Birger that he was the cause of their feuds. The three brothers arrested Torgils, and by the King's order, he was publicly beheaded at Stockholm, 1306. "This will disgrace you everlastingly while you live, Lord King," he said when arrested, and his words came true. The Dukes threw off the mask a few months later, and took the King and his family prisoners while they were his guests at the royal farm, Håtuna, 1306. After hostilities lasting four years, Sweden was partitioned between

the three brothers, through the mediation of the Kings of Denmark and Norway, 1310. Duke Eric had now married the Norwegian princess; their son Magnus was heir to Norway, and Sweden would be his, when Eric had dethroned the weak Birger. But Birger took revenge on his brothers by treachery even blacker than theirs. In 1317 he invited them to a splendid banquet at Nyköping Castle. In the middle of the night he entered their bedrooms with armed retainers, who loaded them, half-naked and bleeding from inflicted wounds, with chains and cast them into the deepest dungeon of the castle, Birger meanwhile taunting them with their "joke at Håtuna." This took place in the night between the 10th and 11th of December, 1317, and after lingering half a year the two brothers died, it is surmised, of hunger, in 1318, the King having thrown the keys of their dungeon into the river flowing past the castle. All Sweden rose to avenge the heinous deed. Birger's chief adviser was executed, and when his innocent son, too, was put to death, to expiate his crime, Birger died of grief in his exile in Denmark, 1321. He is the only Swedish king buried in Danish soil, at Ringsted.

CHAPTER XXI

UNION WITH NORWAY (1319–71) AND WITH DENMARK (1389–1521)

In May, 1319, all Sweden elected the three-year-old Magnus, Duke Eric's only son, king. When his grandfather, Hakon V of Norway, died, the same year, the child-king succeeded him. But this union between Sweden and Norway was a union only in name. The State Council of each kingdom ruled it independently of the other. The Swedish nobility elected Matts Kettilmundsson regent during the minority of Magnus. They formed a league, in 1322, to deprive the King's mother, Duchess Ingeborg, and her Danish favourite of all power. For the next two centuries (1322–1523) the aristocracy generally usurped the royal power, and ruled Sweden. The war against Novgorod, which had continued since the time of Torgils Cnutsson, ended in the first peace treaty ever concluded between Sweden and Russia—the Peace of Nöteborg, 1323. Western Carelia and Savolaks were ceded to Sweden. The Finnish tribes in Esthonia and Livonia were enslaved by the Teutonic knights, while Finland, sharing

in a higher culture and freedom through its close union with Sweden, rose in the scale of civilization. Even the Lapps in the extreme north acknowledged Swedish suzerainty. When King Magnus came of age (1322) he found the treasury empty. Denmark was on the verge of dissolution, and in 1332 the Scanians rose against their German masters and joined Sweden, whereupon the Count of Holstein ceded Scania and Blekinge to Sweden for a large sum of money. After an interregnum of eight years Valdemar Atterdag, King of Denmark (1340–75), ceded to Magnus Halland, in addition to his rights in Scania and Blekinge, for 50,000 marks silver (15 million "kronor," or £840,000 in the money of the present day). Magnus mortgaged and borrowed and got head over ears into debt to pay Valdemar this sum. He caused such discontent in Norway, which he hardly ever visited—though he was to divide his time equally between the two kingdoms —and wholly neglected, that the State Councils of Norway and Sweden, in a joint meeting at Varberg (1343), elected his younger son, Hakon, King of Norway; his father was to govern that kingdom in his name until Hakon VI came of age in 1355. Eric, his elder son, was elected heir to the Swedish throne, 1344.

Magnus appointed a committee to unify the laws of Sweden into a code of laws, common for the whole country. This was finished in 1347, and thereupon accepted province by province.

According to it the king shall be elected by the lawmen and by twelve men, "wise and good," from each law district, who are to meet at the Mora stones near Uppsala for this election. The elected king shall first take the royal oath, standing on a Mora stone. Then ride his Eriksgata, *i. e.*, the royal journey to receive homage in each province. At the boundary of each province its yeomen welcome him solemnly and accompany him on horseback to their Assembly, at which homage and fealty are sworn and gifts exchanged, whereupon they follow him in a body to the boundary of the next province. (It was on his Eriksgata that Magnus abolished slavery where it still existed.) Thereupon the king shall be crowned by the archbishop. He shall nominate spiritual and temporal lords to form a council. In the royal oath he promises to rule the kingdom as advised by the Council, to uphold law and justice, to protect the poor as well as the rich, and to defend the country against its enemies. No new law must be promulgated without the consent of his people. If a new tax were necessary each province by itself was to decide how much it would grant.

St. Birgitta (1303–73) was the first Swede who attained European fame and influence. Her father was Lawman Briger, her mother related to the Royal Family, her husband Ulf, a member of the State Council. On the death of her husband, about 1343, "She took Christ for her bridegroom,"

and what she saw and heard in visions was written down by herself and her confessors in no less than eight books of "Revelations." Mistress of the Robes to the young Queen of Magnus, Blanche of Namur, she reproved the frivolous life at the Court, and warned Magnus against Valdemar of Denmark, "This flatterer who pipes to catch the bird." Her prophecy came true in 1360. She went on a pilgrimage to Rome through the horrors of the Black Death, took up her abode there, and set herself to reform the abuses of the Church. She poured her wrath, like Isaiah, over the head of the Pope at Avignon, and it was partly owing to her that the Popes returned to Rome. She died in Rome on her return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, seventy years old (1373), and was canonized and inscribed in the Golden Book of Saints by the Pope in 1391. In 1370 she at last got the Pope to approve the monastic order of the Birgittines, for whom she had provided the monastery of Vadstena, which became the richest and most famous in the North. Nuns and monks lived side by side in the Birgittine monasteries, which sprang up in every country in Europe. They favoured literary studies, and laid stress upon using the native tongue both for writing and preaching; they used a language common to all Scandinavia. Vadstena was a kind of inter-Scandinavian university, and had the largest library in the North.

Magnus gained no glory, only new debts, from his wars against the Russians (1348–50), at a time

when the Black Death killed off over one third of the population of Sweden (1350), as it did in Denmark and Norway. He borrowed money from the Pope, who excommunicated him for non-payment of it. He mortgaged the herring tolls of Scania to celebrate the wedding of his sister, Euphemia, to Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg. At last the nobles rose against him, with his son Erik at their head (1356), and father and son divided kingdom and kingship. Magnus became sole King of Sweden again in 1359, when Erik died, of poison it was rumoured. Valdemar of Denmark was bent on winning back Scania, and in 1360 he seized Helsingborg by treachery, and became master of Scania, Blekinge, and South Halland. The lost provinces thus came back to Denmark after one generation. In 1361 Valdemar ravaged Gotland and seized an immense booty in Visby. The nobles had set King Hakon of Norway against his father, too; but, after being elected his father's co-regent and King of Sweden (1362) Hakon supported him against the nobles, assisted by Valdemar of Denmark. The Swedish Council compelled Magnus to betroth Hakon to Elizabeth, a daughter of the Count of Holstein, but she was shipwrecked on the Scanian coast on her way to Sweden and the Danish archbishop detained her on the pretence that her marriage would be a breach of the canonic law. Then Magnus and Queen Blanche (of Namur) took Hakon to Copenhagen and betrothed him to

King Valdemar's six-year-old daughter, Margaret (1359); Valdemar promised Magnus Helsingborg. Hakon was married to the ten-year-old Margaret in 1363.

The nobles, angry at the pusillanimity of Magnus, and the loss of Scania in 1360, offered the Swedish crown to Albrecht, the son of Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg and Euphemia, Magnus's sister. The Duke accepted, surprised his unsuspecting brother-in-law, seized Stockholm and had his son elected King of Sweden at the Mora stones, 1364. Civil war now raged for years. Albrecht beat Magnus and Hakon in a battle at Enköping (1365) and took Magnus prisoner. Hakon's father-in-law, Valdemar, occupied North Halland and Gotland, ostensibly for Hakon, but really for himself. The Swedish peasants now rose against the German oppressors, and Hakon marched with an army to Stockholm, but the nobles on both sides then came to terms at the expense of their kings (1371). Albrecht was to remain King as a mere puppet of the Council of Nobles, a council empowered to appoint its own members itself and to grant all fiefs. Magnus was released on recognizing Albrecht as King, and was drowned, in 1374, in Norway. The Swedes nicknamed him Smek (the effeminate). After half a century (1319–71) the union of Sweden and Norway was thus dissolved. At first the German influence predominated in Sweden, but it was soon ousted by the Swedish Council; the

chief justiciary (*drots*) of Sweden, Bo Jonsson, held in mortgage, or as fief, all Finland and two thirds of Sweden. This immense wealth was gained by fraud and violence, for the lawless noblemen plundered and killed with impunity. When Bo Jonsson died, in 1386, the King appointed himself executor of his will, but the ten State Councillors whom the deceased had designated as executors took possession of his estates and appealed for help to Margaret (Margrete), Regent of Denmark and Norway. On condition of being elected Regent of Sweden and getting possession of a large number of Bo Jonsson's estates, she agreed to assist them against Albrecht (1388). King Albrecht used insulting words about the "trouserless king," assumed the title of King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and brought a German army over from Mecklenburg. In a battle near Falköping (1389) he was defeated and taken prisoner by the Queen's Dano-Norwegian-Swedish army. But the Germans still held Stockholm, whose German burgesses made themselves sole masters of the city, getting rid of their Swedish fellow-citizens by murder and arson. German pirates, who called themselves Vitalians (*i. e.*, Victuallers, as they pretended to be carrying victuals to the besieged Stockholm), infested the Baltic for eight years, and Gotland became a nest of these robbers. The Hanseates brought about the conclusion of a compact at Lindholm, where Albrecht was imprisoned, in 1395; he was released

on condition of either paying Margaret a ransom of sixty thousand marks silver within three years, *i. e.*, in 1398, or surrendering Stockholm to her, the Hanseates to hold Stockholm in the meantime. Margaret[1] took possession of Stockholm in 1398, as Albrecht failed to pay his ransom; the same year the Teutonic Knights conquered Gotland and put an end to the piracy of the Vitalians.

Eric of Pomerania (1396–1439) rarely visited Sweden, and the royal officers there, almost all of them Danes, could act as they pleased, and perpetrated cruel extortions. He offended the Swedish church by appointing as Archbishop of Uppsala a dissolute Dane, who had to be deprived of the archbishopric. Eric then made him Bishop of Skálholt in Iceland, where he was pulled from the high altar of the cathedral in full canonicals and drowned, with a bag over his head, in a river, by his congregation, 1433. The Swedish peasants were oppressed.

It is reported that the Dane, Jösse (Jens) Eriksson, after seizing the horses of the Dalecarlians for arrears of taxation, harnessed the men to the ploughs and their wives to the carts. The freedom-loving Dalecarlians were in danger of being enslaved like the Danish peasants.

A Dalecarlian of noble birth, Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson, came forward in his country's need. He personally laid the complaints of the Dalecarlians before Eric, until the King burst out in

[1] For the reign of Margaret (1389–1412) see Denmark.

anger: "Do not come before my eyes again with your continual plaints." Engelbrekt replied: "I shall come back once more, but only once." The Dalecarlians were put off with false promises by the Swedish Council, and they rose at midsummer, 1434. Stronghold after stronghold fell before their fury, determined as they were to drive their oppressors over the border. With fiery eloquence Engelbrekt implored the State Councillors sitting at Vadstena to save the people and depose King Eric. As they refused, he seized some of them by the neck and threatened to hand them over to the angry Dalesmen waiting outside. Thereupon they all signed the act deposing King Eric which Engelbrekt laid before them. In less than four months all Sweden, except a few strongholds, was freed from the foreign yoke. Tradition tells that no peasant lost as much as one hen's value in the whole campaign. Engelbrekt called a parliament at Arboga, January, 1435, which elected him regent. It was the first Parliament in Sweden to which burgesses and peasants were summoned. Eric was deposed by Parliament in 1436, and the nobles, fearing the popularity of the great leader, elected Karl Knutsson regent. Engelbrekt was foully and treacherously murdered by the son of a State Councillor, when on his way to Stockholm and ill from overexertion, on April 27, 1436. He was struck down with an axe, and his dead body, pierced with arrows, was buried by peasants in tears. In less

than two years the "Liberator" made a deep and enduring mark on Swedish history. When he called to life the national feeling of all classes and of all provinces, in defence of freedom, he made the Swedes a nation. He re-established the old independence of the Swedish peasantry, and, like Simon de Montfort, he was the first to summon burgesses and peasants to represent the nation in Parliament.

The Swedish nobles now had it all their own way. After negotiations with Eric, Karl Knutsson was elected regent (Riksföre-Ståndare), 1483. It was the first time this title was used, the earlier being *rikshöfvitsman.* Eric was finally deposed in 1439, and Christopher of Bavaria elected King, 1440.

On Christopher's death (1448) Karl Knutsson was elected King of Sweden and in November, 1449, he was crowned King of Norway in Trondhjem Cathedral by the Norwegian Archbishop. The Norwegian Act of Allegiance declared: "These two kingdoms, Sweden and Norway, which God has so closely joined by land, shall never be sundered." Yet within six months twelve Danish and twelve Swedish State Councillors had agreed, in a joint meeting at Halmstad (1450), that Norway should belong to Christian I of Denmark, who had been elected King of Norway by the Norwegian State Council, June, 1449, while the one of the two kings who survived the other should be king of the three kingdoms. This was enacted against the will of

the Swedish King, and a long war broke out between Sweden and Denmark. Finally, the Swedish Archbishop deposited his crozier on the high altar of his cathedral, and, swearing not to carry it till all was changed in Sweden, donned armour and wounded the King in a surprise attack, so that he fled to Germany (1457). But after seven years of the rule of Christian I, and of heavy taxation, the Swedes rose (1464) and called King Karl back; after six months, however, the Archbishop compelled him to resign the crown, but he was King again 1467–70. On his death-bed (1470) Karl nominated Sten Sture, a son of his half-sister, as his successor, but warned him not to wear the crown, since it had brought him only grief and unhappiness. Sten Sture, the hero of many battles, was then elected regent. He defeated Christian I, in a hard-fought battle at Brunkeberg, October 10, 1471, by sheer bravery and by superior tactics. Christian was wounded, and the flower of the Danish nobility lay dead round the royal standard, the Danebrog, which fell into the hands of the Swedes. Thereafter Denmark left Sweden in peace for a generation.

Sten Sture was great in peace as in war. The University of Uppsala was founded in 1477, two years before the Copenhagen University, owing to him and the Archbishop, who also favoured the printing of the first books in Sweden, 1483.

Sten Sture the Elder, as he is called, was compelled by the nobles to acknowledge the sovereignty

of King Hans of Denmark over Sweden, in 1483; but it was only nominal, except during 1497–1501, and in spite of an unlucky war with Russia, Sture held his own till his death in 1503.

Svante Sture, regent 1503–12, was succeeded by his son, Sten Sture the Younger, regent 1512–20, on whom the great qualities of his namesake seemed to have descended. The family feud between the Sture and the Trolle families reached a crisis when Gustaf Trolle, elected Archbishop of Uppsala in 1513, refused to do homage to the regent, and allied himself with Christian II of Denmark.[1]

[1] See Denmark, Christian II.

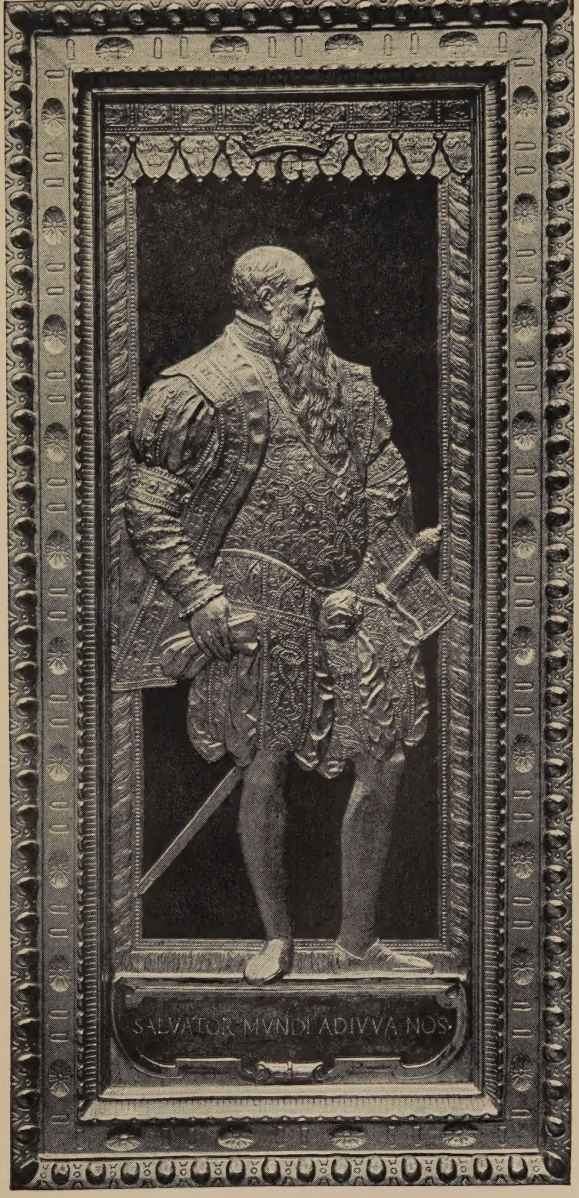
CHAPTER XXII

GUSTAVUS VASA (1523–60)—THE REFORMATION

GUSTAVUS VASA was born in Uppland on, probably, May 12, 1496. His father, Erik Johansson, member of the State Council, came of a noble family who took the name of their estate, *Vasa*. His mother was Cecilia Mån's daughter, a half-sister of Sture's wife, the heroic Christina Gyllenstierna. The family generally took the Danish side in the wars of the fifteenth century, but after the intermarriage with the Stures they defended the national cause. Gustaf was eighteen when he came to the Court of Sture to complete his education. He was his standard-bearer in the victorious battle of Brännkyrka, and was one of the six hostages delivered to Christian and treacherously carried off to Denmark, 1518. It was this treachery which saved his life. For a twelvemonth he was the prisoner of a distant kinsman of his, Erik Banér, in his castle on the island of Kalö, Jutland. In September, 1519, he escaped, disguised as a horse-dealer, to Lübeck, to fight against the Danes. Lübeck refused extradition, and Banér had to pay Christian II 1600 florins

as forfeit money. The magistrates of Lübeck helped Gustaf to slip away, and on May 31, 1520, he landed near Kalmar, then besieged by the Danes. A hunted exile, he wandered through his country. In vain he tried to dissuade his brother-in-law from attending Christian's coronation. He was in hiding at Räfsnäs on Lake Mälaren, his father's estate, when the news of the Stockholm Massacre was brought to him by a peasant; his father and his brother-in-law publicly executed; his mother and sisters imprisoned; a price set upon his own head. But he forgot his own woes. Like Engelbrekt and the Stures he decided to make an appeal to the yeomen of the Dales, the Dalecarlians, to rise in arms to save their country. Disguised as a Dalecarlian, seeking work, he set off on foot, with an axe over his shoulder—single-handed against the mighty ruler of three kingdoms—at the end of November, 1520. He took service with a school friend, but he dared not harbour him, and the squire in whose house he next found shelter would have earned the reward set on his head but for the presence of mind of his own wife, who packed Gustaf off in a sledge. The sleeping-room at Ornäs where he was betrayed to a Danish bailiff is still preserved as a national relic. He was now hunted like a wild beast from one hiding-place to another, travelling in trusses of hay, and sleeping on a bed of withered leaves in the forest.

A cluster of legends has gathered round his many miraculous hairbreadth escapes. By Christ-



GUSTAVUS VASA

mas, 1520, he reached Lake Siljan, in the heart of Dalecarlia, the nursery of patriotism, which time after time had risen against alien dominion and shaken off foreign yoke. At Rättvik and at Mora he ventured to speak to the peasantry assembled after church. In eloquent moving words he described the atrocities of Christian and the dire need of Sweden, reminded them of the great deeds of their fathers, and called on them to save themselves from serfdom. But they were weary of the continual wars. They thought it was only the lords and the nobles that Christian wanted to massacre, not the common people. They turned deaf ears to Gustaf's eloquence. Disheartened, despairing, he started on snow-shoes through the wide tracts of forest on the borders across the mountains into Norway. But a week after he left Mora fugitives arrived who brought the news of further atrocities by King Christian, that he would pass through Dalecarlia on his journey of homage and that gallows were to be erected at every manor-house on his route. Besides, on his return journey to Denmark in December, 1520, he had imposed a new tax on agricultural produce, to be levied in kind, and ordered that all peasants should deliver up their arms. The Dalecarlians now repented that they had not listened to Gustaf, and sent two swift runners on snow-shoes, travelling night and day, to call him back. They overtook him in a village near the frontier. He returned to Mora, where the leading

men of East and West Dalecarlia assembled. In January, 1521, they elected him "Lord of the Dales and of Sweden." King Christian had not yet left Sweden. Two hundred young Dalecarlians joined him at once, but the number increased every day and some old men-at-arms trained them. At the Kopparberg, he seized the goods of the German merchants as the tax-gatherers' treasury, whereupon Southern Dalecarlia joined him. Some of the neighbouring provinces joined, others hesitated. The Danish Government at Stockholm at first thought they could quell the rising by admonitory letters. Not till April did Didrik Slagheck and Archbishop Trolle set out with six thousand Danes and Germans and French and Scotch mercenaries against the peasants. At Brunnbäck ferry on the Dalelf (Dale River) they saw thousands of peasants on the north bank of the river, and the Swedish nobles told the Danish bishop Beldenak that all these peasants drank little but water and were content to eat bark bread. The bishop then declared that "Men who can eat wood and drink water will not yield to the Devil himself, much less to mere men; my brethren, let us decamp at once." But the Dalecarlians followed the retreating Danes, and defeated them. Gustaf now ventured to march against the fortress of Vesterås with nearly fifteen thousand men. On April 29th the Danish cavalry dashed at the despised peasants, not dreaming they would make a stand, but repeated charges

failed to break the serried ranks of peasants with outstretched pikes. The Danes were driven off with heavy loss, and lost their artillery. As Gustaf had no artillery this was a great gain. After this victory he sent out detachments to besiege fortresses and bring about risings in various provinces. Uppsala fell, and he asked the canons of the cathedral chapter whether they were Swedes or Danes; they consulted the Archbishop, to whom Gustaf wrote, asking him to forget family feuds in order to save Sweden. The Archbishop's answer was to surprise him at Uppsala with an armed force. Gustaf was nearly drowned in crossing a river as he fled for his life. At midsummer he encamped outside Stockholm and laid siege to it. But he had hardly any means of taking fortified places except by famine, and his undisciplined peasants during a long siege would now and then return home to look after their fields and crops. He had no ships, and could only invest Stockholm by land. The siege was raised after successful sallies by the Danes. Equally slow was the siege by raw peasant levies of the castles held by the Danes. The rest of Sweden now rendered homage and fealty to Gustaf, province by province, and even Bishop Brask of Linköping joined him. The Danish regent of Sweden, Didrik Slagheck, was hated as the reputed author of the Stockholm Massacre. He was full of talk about hanging and quartering and other atrocities. Archbishop Trolle and Bishop Bel-

denak complained of him to King Christian, after the defeat at Vesterås. He was recalled, but did not go. Trolle took the reins of government and summoned an assembly at Stockholm. Meanwhile the Estates of Southern Sweden met at Vadstena and elected Gustaf regent of Sweden (*riksföreståndare*), August 23, 1521. All Sweden except the principal strongholds had now done him homage. The siege of Stockholm still dragged wearily on; it was well defended by Didrik Slagheck's brother, while Admiral Sören Norby, one of the naval heroes of Denmark, continually reinforced and reprovisioned it from his safe retreat in the isle of Gotland. Without a fleet Gustaf had no hope of reducing Stockholm. He therefore turned to the Hansa city, Lübeck, which was already hostile to Christian II. He wished to exclude Lübeck from the Baltic trade, in favour of his own subjects.

In June, 1522, ten warships from Lübeck well filled with horsemen and ammunition arrived, and Stockholm was then invested and cut off by land and sea. Even Dantzic joined the league against Christian. An attempt by Admiral Norby to relieve Stockholm was repulsed, in spite of all his hardihood and bravery. Christian's own subjects rose against him, and Gustaf occupied one Danish and one Norwegian province, as the ally of Frederick I, who headed the insurrection against Christian. As soon as Gustaf heard of Christian's flight from Denmark he summoned a

national assembly of all estates at Strängnäs. On June 6, 1523, a canon of Vesterås delivered a speech in Latin to the assembly. It was necessary to elect a king to prevent the new King of Denmark from claiming the throne. None was so worthy of being the highest in the land as Gustaf Eriksson. The assembly was unanimous in favour of Gustaf, but he himself raised strong objections. "He was weary of the heavy burden which already rested on his shoulders, would they not," he prayed, "relieve him of it, and elect one of the elder nobles in the Council; he would then be the first to render him homage and fealty." This was no make-believe, no pretence on his part. But the Assembly unanimously entreated him for the love of Sweden, which would fail utterly without him, to accept the crown; he yielded and was proclaimed "King of the Swedes and Goths." The Council notified his accession to the throne to foreign monarchs in a State document containing a full account of the cruelties of Christian II. Archbishop Trolle was sent into exile. The representatives of Lübeck demanded from the new King greatly enlarged privileges as payment for the valuable assistance rendered during the war, privileges which made the Hansa the sole master of the whole trade of Sweden, free of customs and duties. Not only was a heavy debt owing to them, but their help was still required to take Stockholm. They would make their own terms with Frederick I, the new King of Denmark, who

was willing to grant them all their old privileges in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, unless their demands were complied with, was their threat. Gustaf conceded all their demands, yet with a sore heart; for he saw clearly that these conditions were fetters laid on his country. "Kingship has more gall than honey in it," he remarked, as he signed the Compact which even some members of the Council refused to sign. After a siege of two years the half-depopulated Stockholm surrendered on June 20, 1523, its sufferings from hunger and pestilence having become unbearable. The number of tax-paying citizens had sunk to one fourth, and Gustaf grafted citizens from every town in Sweden under compulsion to Stockholm to repair the losses. By October the last fortress in Finland had fallen, and Admiral Norby now only held the Isle of Gotland for Christian II. When hard pressed he surrendered the island, not to Gustaf, but to Frederick I of Denmark, in 1524, and when the two kings met at Malmö, Denmark through the mediation of the Hansa obtained Gotland and Blekinge and Sweden Båhuslen for some years only (1524). The war of liberation was at an end. Christian II had paved the way for Gustaf by killing off his rivals among the aristocracy. Nearly all the bishoprics were vacant. Freedom was won, but money and men were wanted to evolve order from the waste and desolation left by the Danish wars. The revenues of the Crown did not cover half the daily expenses

STOCKHOLM

From an old print

of the Government. The young King of twenty-seven carried the whole burden of administration on his own shoulders. He had to look into every matter personally and travel from one end of the kingdom to the other, investigating, collecting information, advising; whether it was translating the Bible, building a warship, repairing a shed, reforming the Church, he gave his personal attention to it all. He was literally the hardest worked servant of his country, a king in very deed, not only in name. The liberator became the regenerator of his people. He was hampered by want of tools. On one occasion he could not find an ambassador with knowledge of German to send to Lübeck, on another he found no one to whom he could dictate a letter in German to Christian III. Thus it came about that he had to employ foreign adventurers for doing purely clerical work, which otherwise he must do personally for want of competent assistance.

A strong monarchy was necessary, but the proud peasantry of Sweden brooked little authority. They had saved Sweden. And they knew it. They were as self-willed and unruly in peace, as they were brave and dauntless in war. They thought they could unseat the new King as easily as they had seated him on his throne. The Dalecarlians drew up a letter to Gustaf concerning their complaints, dated May Day, 1525. It is characteristic of their sturdy common sense. They reminded him how he had wandered as an outlaw

in the woods, how they helped him to drive his enemies out of the land, how they had seated him on the throne, whereupon he "had made light of good Swedish men, and bidden Germans and Danes come into the country." Contrary to his royal oath he had levied unchristian taxes on churches and monasteries, and taken out of them chalices and treasures dedicated to the service of God. They had ere now humbly begged him "to get for them a better value for their goods, but the longer they waited the worse it grew, and they would no longer stand this." If King Gustaf would not listen to their complaints they would no longer keep their oath of allegiance to him. "We see that you mean wholly to destroy us poor Swedish men, which with God's help we will prevent—take note hereof and act accordingly." Gustaf wrote back that he could not believe they seriously meant to break their allegiance, and warned them not to go too far. At the same time he offered his abdication to a national assembly at Vesterås, if they were not satisfied with his rule, and the assembly had almost to go down on their knees to persuade him to stay. When he visited Dalecarlia in the autumn, 1525, his old comrades in war begged to be forgiven, as they had been misled. The second revolt of Dalecarlia broke out in 1527, mainly because the King favoured Lutheranism. It is true he had been democratic enough to consult them even on affairs of state before he discussed them with the Council,

but the failure of crops must, they thought, be caused by the ungodliness of the King. An impostor claiming to be a son of Sten Sture led them. They complained that the King had become "a Lutheran and a heathen." Gustaf wrote back that he had only commanded that God's word and Gospel were to be preached so that the priests should no longer deceive the simple folk; they did not wish their deception to be known, and had therefore spread the false report that he wished to introduce a new faith, "Luthery"; he was astonished that the good Dalecarlians should trouble themselves about matters which they did not understand at all, and which did not concern them. The Dalecarlians in their reply demanded that no new faith or Luthery should be introduced, and that "at Court hereafter there should not be so many foreign and outlandish customs with laced and brocaded clothes," and that "the King should burn alive or otherwise do away with all who ate flesh on Friday or Saturday." Gustaf at last got impatient and wrote he was not going to listen to lectures by them "as to how he was to clothe his bodyguard and servants; he preferred to model himself upon other monarchs, such as kings and emperors, that they may see that we Swedes are no more swine and goats than they are." At an interview with the King, representatives of the Dalecarlians became convinced of the imposture practised upon them by the pretended son of Sten Sture, who fled to Norway,

but they remained stubborn and intractable. In 1528 Gustaf entered the Dales with an army, and the ringleaders of the revolt were executed, in spite of a promise of safe conduct, in the midst of an assembly of all the Dales; whereupon the others on their knees begged him to spare their lives. The third rebellion of the Dales took place in 1531. To pay off instalments of the heavy debt to Lübeck, it was enacted that every parish church was to surrender a bell, or if it had but one redeem it at half its value. The Dalecarlians refused to part with their bells, and wrote the King a threatening letter. After vainly calling a general assembly to protest against the King, they offered to pay two thousand marks instead of surrendering their bells. The King accepted this, as he was threatened by an invasion from Norway under Christian II. The danger over, he came with an army to Dalecarlia, and on their knees, surrounded by men-at-arms, the Dalesmen listened a whole day to the angry speech of the King. He would no longer be their plaything. If the Dales were not henceforth obedient to him, he would lay them waste so that from that day one could not hear a dog bark or a cock crow in Dalecarlia. The leaders were executed, and this was the last rising of the Dalesmen, who even sent two thousand men to assist the King to suppress the Småland rebellion, the last and the most dangerous of the risings during his reign. It was caused by the harsh proceedings of the royal

officers, whose task it was to confiscate superfluous gold and silver plate and other treasures in the churches. The peasants rose under the leadership of Nils Dacke, after whom it is called the Dacke War (1542). The royal troops were repeatedly beaten back, Dacke was promised help from Germany, but was defeated and killed (1543).

The Swedish Church was rich, and Gustaf desired it to supply his pressing financial needs. All the bishoprics but two were vacant. Archbishop Trolle was an outlawed exile, and two bishops had been beheaded in the Stockholm Massacre. The Papal Legate, Johannes Magni, sent from Rome by Adrian VI "to extirpate the Lutheran error," was elected Archbishop of Uppsala by the Chapter, September, 1523. The Swedish State Council had already petitioned the Pope for another Primate, and Gustaf now wrote him to ask his confirmation of this election instead of "that rebellious and bloodthirsty traitor Gustavus Trolle." The Pope ordered the immediate reinstatement of Trolle. Gustaf, in righteous anger, wrote back that, unless the election of Johannes Magni as Archbishop were confirmed by the Holy See, he was determined, of his own royal authority, hereafter to order the affairs of the Church in his kingdom to the glory of God and the satisfaction of all Christian men. When the Pope appointed an Italian to the See of Skara, disregarding the choice of Gustaf and the Chapter, the King wrote that, if the Holy See refused or delayed to confirm the

election of his bishops, he would have them confirmed by the one and only Head of the Church, Christ, rather than allow religion in Sweden to suffer by the negligence of the Holy See. He refused to recognize the Pope's foreign bishop; His Holiness might depend upon it that he would never allow foreigners to be bishops in Sweden. The new Pope, Clement VII, continued to be obdurate.

But the time was at hand when Olavus Petri, Olof Petersson, the Swedish reformer, came forward. Born at Örebro (1493) he was educated in a Carmelite monastery, studied at the University of Wittenberg (1516–19), took his degree as Magister Artium there, and became a fervent disciple of Luther, whom he resembled in his eloquence and impulsiveness. On his return to Sweden he became deacon and Secretary to the Bishop of Strängnäs, after whose death he was teacher at the Cathedral school and a member of the Chapter. There he won a friend in the learned Canon Laurentius Andreæ (Lars Andersson), who was converted to the new faith by him, and who all his life acted as a break on the ardent temper of the fifteen years younger Olavus, in the way that Melanchthon acted to Luther. During the National Assembly at Strängnäs (1523) Gustaf heard sermons by some disciples of Olavus, and was much impressed. He had talks with Olavus, who boldly declared that the Pope was Antichrist, while Laurentius told the King that Luther had "clipped

the wings of the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Bishops." Gustaf was more pleased than surprised at these views, and with his clear common sense he remarked that "God sent His sheep into the world to be pastured, not to be shaven and shorn." The wealth of the Church must be pressed into the service of the country. He called Laurentius to Stockholm to be his chancellor or private secretary, and Olavus to be town clerk and preacher. Olavus denounced Popery and Popish errors so violently in his sermons that stones and mud were thrown at him. The blame was laid on him for the excesses of the Anabaptists, who attacked and desecrated the Catholic churches of Stockholm. The peasants threatened to come and purge that corrupt Gomorrha, Stockholm, of all Lutherans and heretics. Gustaf expelled the Anabaptists from Sweden. Olavus's writings spread like wildfire, written as they were in strong, nervous Swedish. Bishop Brask, the only leader left to the old Church, asked the King to suppress Luther's writings, but the King refused to persecute any man for his religious convictions; all new doctrines must be tested by Holy Writ, and subjected to full and free discussion. The Bishop continued to attack the "Lutheran" or "Luciferan" heresy in pastorals, but with little effect. Olavus, though a deacon, married in 1525; Bishop Brask denounced him to the King for this breach of celibacy. Gustaf replied that Olavus had, before the King, declared himself ready to

defend his breach of celibacy before any lawful court, and it seemed strange to him (the King) that marriage, which the law of God had never forbidden, should cause a man to be excommunicated, while the immorality of the priests was not punished by the Pope. It was true he (the King) had used the property of the Church for the good of the State, but he had been driven to do this by necessity. A translation of the New Testament into Swedish, mainly from the pen of Olavus, was published in 1526. The King now openly sided with the Reformers, and declared he would not desert the new faith "as long as his heart was whole and his blood was warm." He complained that there were too many unnecessary priests, and that the monasteries were filled with monks who were little better than vermin, since they consumed all the kindly fruits of earth, the people's heritage. In 1526 he began to suppress and sequestrate the monasteries; even the weak and pliable Archbishop could no longer serve him; he was accused of high treason, and was glad to get out of the reach of danger when he was sent with an embassy to Poland. As soon as he landed he wrote to Bishop Brask asking him to take charge of the archbishopric. He never saw his native land again.

Still more high-handed was the King's treatment of two prelates, Petrus Jacobi and Master Knut. He deposed them for disobedience to his commands; after fomenting rebellion in Dalecar-

lia, they sought safety in Norway, under the protection of the last Catholic Archbishop of Trondhjem, Olaf Engelbrektsson. After long negotiations they were extradited and paraded through the streets of Stockholm, seated backwards on broken-down hacks, Jacobi with a crown of straw on his head, Knut with a mitre made of rushes, mocking jesters running beside them, shouting to the crowd that here sat the men who would rather be traitors than approve the teaching of Luther. The King prosecuted them for treason, and they were sentenced to be hanged, though four of the judges withdrew from the court as being illegal. In 1526 two thirds of the tithes were applied to the payment of the national debt. Old Bishop Brask had to stand up against the King almost single-handed. In despair he wrote: "The King's heart is in the hands of God, who can always make Saul Paul." Backed by the peasantry he dared to resist. The King ordered him to destroy his printing press, from which many Anti-Lutheran pamphlets issued. Brask then moved his press to Copenhagen, whereupon the King forbade him to print and circulate among the common people anything not previously submitted to himself. Gustaf determined to make an end of the religious disorder in his realm, and summoned an assembly of all classes, burgesses and commons, priests and nobles, in the hall of the Black Friars Monastery at Vesterås, in the middle of June, 1527. The bishops previously held a

secret meeting in a locked church, and bound themselves by oath to protest against any resolutions against the Pope and for Luther. This secret league of protest was unknown till the written protest was found under the floor of the church in 1542. The Chancellor first read to the assembly the King's account of the state of Sweden; he reminded them how he had worked and suffered for his country, he assured them he had never wanted to introduce a new faith, but only to have the pure Word of God preached and to cleanse the priests of their worldliness. No government was possible in Sweden unless the revenues of the Crown were increased, he urged. Brask was the first to answer, and declared that the Church was subject to the Holy See in spiritual matters, and could not without its permission alter any doctrine or surrender any property. The Council and the nobles assented to this. Gustaf then burst into an angry speech full of reproaches against his people for their ingratitude. "I have no desire to be your king on such conditions. I am not surprised that the common people are maddened and disobedient; they take after such as you. When they lack rain and sunshine, they blame me for it; dearth, famine, pestilence, I am blamed for it all. For all my trouble my sole reward is that you would like to see an axe sticking in my head, though none of you dare hold its handle. And though I am your lord and king all of you want to be my masters and judges. Who would

be your king under such conditions? Not the worst off in hell—still less any human being. I tell you straight I will not be your king any longer; you may choose any good man you like in my place. Therefore, be ready to pay me back what I have spent of my own upon the kingdom; I will then take my departure, and never come back to my ungrateful fatherland." Whereupon the King burst into tears and rushed out of the hall to the castle. The Estates were thrown into utter confusion and dismay. The first day they adjourned without a result; the second day of the debate the Bishop of Strängnäs declared that, whatever might be the fate of the Church, King Gustaf was indispensable to the kingdom. The third day the Estate of Peasants compelled Olavus and Laurentius Petri to go up to the castle to implore the King to come back. The burgesses and peasants clamoured for him. Even the nobles exhorted the Council and the Bishops to concede his demands. Deputation after deputation was sent by the Estates to the castle, imploring the King to come back. For four days he was immovable; he wanted to make them realize to the full how indispensable he was. On the fourth day—June 24, 1527—he returned, and all his demands were granted by the Estates, and "they nearly kissed his feet, in tears," says the Chronicle. The Vesterås Recess contained three main points: (1) The Bishops' castles and the surplus revenues of the Bishops, the Cathedral chapters, and the

monasteries should be transferred to the Crown to provide for its needs; (2) the nobles should recover from the Church all lands given and granted since 1454, once held by themselves —hereby Gustaf won the support of the nobles for the reformation; (3) the Word of God shall be preached, pure and plain, all over the kingdom. In addition to the Recess the Vesterås Ordinance defined the relations of the Church and State. The King became the supreme head of the Church instead of the Pope; Bishops-elect were not to be confirmed by the See of Rome; Peter's pence was to go to the Crown instead of to Rome, and all clergymen were to be amenable to the civil courts only, in temporal matters. The Episcopal castles were immediately seized. The last leader of Catholicism, Bishop Brask, went into exile and died (1539) in a Polish monastery. The new Bishops were consecrated by Per Månsson, Bishop of Vesterås, who had himself been consecrated at Rome. Thus the apostolic succession was preserved, while it was lost in Denmark, though Per Månsson acted against his own convictions at the bidding of the King in January, 1528. All the Bishops were present at the King's coronation at Uppsala (1528), but they ceased to be members of the State Council. In 1529 the Synod of Örebro declared Holy Scripture to be the sole norm of doctrine, and regulated Church ceremonies and discipline. The reformation won its way gradually. The monas-

teries were deserted or converted into hospitals. Olavus wrote and published a Catechism, a Prayer Book, and a Book of Psalms in Swedish, and a Swedish Missal was published authorizing Communion in both kinds. In 1531 Gustaf had a new evangelical Lutheran Archbishop elected by the Bishops, Laurentius Petri, Rector of the School of Uppsala, a brother of Olavus. This gentle reformer was more liked by the King than his fiery and outspoken brother. In 1539–41 Gustaf sent "Visitors" round Sweden to sequestrate the movable property of the Church; the holy vessels and vestments were plundered, and the peasants were goaded into rebellion; even the Lutheran Bishops protested against these violations of the Vesterås Recess. Gustaf took no heed; he had saved Sweden and had the right to rule it as he liked. He favoured foreigners, especially the German adventurers, Conrad van Pyhy and Georg Norman. Norman became Superintendent of the Church with jurisdiction over the Bishops, Pyhy Chancellor. The two reformers were too independent for the King. He took offence at the sermons of Olavus; certain expressions about swearing and blasphemy he resented as allusions to his personal habits. He became still more angry when it was reported that Olavus had called him a tyrant, and explained an eclipse of the sun as presaging calamities which the King's sins would bring upon the country. Olavus and Laurentius Andreæ were both accused of high

treason at the assembly of Örebro, before a court mainly composed of foreigners. The principal charge against them was that of keeping to themselves the knowledge of a conspiracy against the King's life, because they acquired it in the confessional. Both the reformers were sentenced to death on this trumpery charge, January, 1540, but the sentences were commuted to huge fines. Olavus regained the King's favour and died as a clergyman in Stockholm (1552), the same year as his fellow-reformer.

When the last peasant rebellion had been put down Gustaf summoned an assembly of the Estates at Vesterås, 1544. To show their gratitude to the liberator the Estates declared the crown of Sweden hereditary in the family of Gustaf I and of his male descendants. The Estates also abolished the remaining Catholic ceremonies and completed the establishment of the Lutheran Church. The Bishops were to be called superintendents and to be appointed by the Crown, without an election by a chapter as had been customary.

Gustaf had now accomplished three things, epoch-making in Swedish history. He had freed his country from the Danish yoke. Though forcing the reformation upon an unwilling people, he had cleansed religion of many abuses and made use of the wealth of the Church for the good of the entire nation. By making the Crown hereditary in his family he had founded a central

power strong enough to keep peace and order in Sweden. The Vasa family was no longer merely one of the noble families of the kingdom.

He confiscated most of the glebes and Church lands, so that at the end of his reign more than twelve thousand of these had come under the Crown. The largest part of the rent and income of these he used to establish the first Swedish standing army, fifteen thousand well-equipped men, and the first Swedish navy, twenty-five large men-of-war. He saved money, so that he left behind as his private property no less than a sum equal to £1,200,000 in our times, in ready money and in silver, unusual at that time, and more than two thousand farms, since called the "Gustavian Estates." He scrutinized closely the accounts of the royal bailiffs. He taught his people agriculture, mining, and trade, being an agriculturist, miner, and trader himself on a larger scale than any one else. On his own model farms he personally instructed the peasantry, by word of mouth and in writing, how to till their fields and drain them. Slothful farmers were punished, and of neglected farms he declared: "Then they belong to us and to Sweden!" German miners and blacksmiths were called in to teach. He was himself the largest merchant in Sweden, and his ships were instructed to trade in England, France, and Portugal. He was indeed a sort of general providence for all his subjects, and he stamped his people with the stamp of his

mighty personality, his restless and passionate energy. He governed all Sweden as if it were his own private estate.

The schools were in sorry state, for Protestants with little learning had superseded the Catholic priests and teachers. Still, Olavus Petri laid the foundation of Swedish literature. He was not only the chief translator of the Swedish Bible, but he wrote the first history of Sweden in Swedish (a rhymed chronicle) and the first play in Swedish.

Gustaf had allied himself with Denmark in the Count's war to throw off the commercial yoke of Lübeck. In 1537 a truce was concluded. Lübeck's trade monopoly in Sweden was limited to four ports where she was to trade free of duties, and she renounced her claims for arrears of debt. Fearing the hegemony of Charles V, Gustaf made an alliance with Denmark in 1541 and with France in 1542. But nevertheless the old suspicion and hatred of Denmark burnt with a steady flame in his heart, and he gave vent to it on every occasion. A few months before his death he wrote to his son Erik, the heir to the throne: "We have now for nearly forty years learnt to know the Danes. . . . Almighty God knows how faithfully and sedulously we have through all our days warned and advised both old and young against the falseness and deception of the Danes." Among various complaints and grievances on both sides was the question of the three crowns. When the Swedish Crown was made hereditary in the family of Gustaf

in 1544, Christian III of Denmark retaliated by quartering on his shield the three crowns of Sweden. They were the arms of Sweden since the time of Magnus Eriksson. King Albrecht had three golden crowns in blue, so that blue and yellow in time became the national colours, used the first time as the flag of the royal navy under Gustaf I. To the Swedes the three crowns were the symbol of the Scandinavian Union, the renewal of the Union under Danish supremacy. As a demonstration Christian III flaunted the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish arms on the occasion of his daughter's marriage to Duke Augustus of Saxony. Gustaf complained in a letter to Christian III, and reminded him what he owed to his assistance in the civil war. Christian III wrote back that the three crowns meant, not Sweden, but the three kingdoms and their quartering on his shield was only a reminiscence of the Union. Gustaf called this a dishonest explanation, but peace was unbroken till the death of the two old kings. In 1556–57 the young Tsar of Russia, Ivan IV Vassilievitch, carried fire and sword into Finland, and in 1557 a truce of forty years was concluded at Moscow, the frontiers to be regulated according to the treaty of 1323.

In 1560 Gustaf felt that his powers were failing. He therefore summoned the Estates to assemble in Stockholm to hear his account of his stewardship, his incessant and anxious labour for the good of the people for thirty-seven years, to bid them a

solemn good-bye and to set forth his last wishes. Surrounded by his sons, Erik, the heir to the throne and the three Dukes, John, Magnus, and Charles, he stood in the great audience hall of the palace on June 26, 1560. The father of the Swedish people spoke his last word to his children. He thanked them for coming at his call. He passed in review his long reign of thirty-seven years. He told them of their sufferings at the hands of the Danes, and their deliverance from Christian the tyrant, whom God alone had thrown down and punished. God used him as an instrument for His divine help. "What indeed was I that I could think of driving out so mighty a monarch, who was not only the ruler of three kingdoms, but the friend of the powerful Emperor Charles V. . . . But God did the work, and made me His miracle-worker through whom His almighty power should be made manifest against King Christian, as also these forty years. God gave David victory over Goliath, and made him king. Thus He did with me, unworthy as I am." Never a thought of this could he have had as possible when forty years ago he stole, hiding from the bloodthirsty swords of the enemy, through forests and mountain wastes. He begged his beloved, kind Swedish men to forgive him whatever faults and shortcomings his rule might have had, for they had not arisen from malice but from human weakness. He knew that in the thoughts of many he had been a hard, severe king, but the

time might come when they would be fain and glad to tear him with their nails out of the earth, if they only could. "My time is soon up. I have no need of starcraft or other prophecy thereof. I know the signs in my own body that I shall soon depart." Then the Estates approved his will; he exhorted them to be obedient to his sons and live together in peace and unity. Finally he commended them to God and gave them his blessing; the tears rushed from the old man's eyes as he walked out; the Estates were equally moved. His forebodings were right. He died on September 29, 1560, and was buried in Uppsala Cathedral. He is described by a contemporary, his nephew, as well-proportioned, strongly built, of middle height, with handsome features, keen blue eyes, hair the colour of yellow silk, a long, flowing, wavy beard, a ruddy complexion, small but wiry hands and feet, "a body as fitly proportioned as any painter could have painted. He was of a sanguine, choleric temperament; when untroubled and unvexed, bright and cheerful and easy to talk to, and however many happened to be in the same room with him, he was never at a loss for an answer to every one of them." He was fond of singing and music and simple pleasures. He sang and played himself, especially on the lute, when sitting alone of an evening. His memory was extraordinary; he could remember persons and things which he had only once seen and heard after ten or twenty years. With his

clear common sense, his marvellous capacity for taking pains, hampered by no learning, he saw through things. He had his faults; he could be irritable, violent, hard to his enemies, and morbidly suspicious. He was first married to Catherine of Saxe-Lauenburg, by whom he had one son Eric, born 1533, the unhappy fruit of an unhappy marriage. Then he married Margaret, Erik's daughter, Leijonhufvud, who bore him ten children. Three sons, Duke John of Finland, Duke Magnus of Östergötland, and Duke Charles of Södermanland, survived from childhood, while his five daughters were married to German princes. In his old age he married a third time, Catherine, Gustaf's daughter, Stenbock; she was then only sixteen, and survived her husband more than sixty years.

He laid the foundations of the future greatness of Sweden. "God's miracle-worker who built up the kingdom of Sweden from basement to roof and gave his people a Protestant fatherland against their will," he has been called by a Swedish poet. He was the master builder of the Swedish nation in all essentials, as well as in many details and particulars.

CHAPTER XXIII

ERIC XIV

ERIC XIV (1560–68) was twenty-seven years old at his father's death. Like all the sons of Gustaf I, he was well educated and trained, mentally and bodily. The French Ambassador Dançay describes him as a very handsome, well-built prince, marvellously accomplished, speaking French, German, and Latin like his mother-tongue, excellent in drawing, singing, violin playing, and mathematics. But these fine qualities were vitiated by vanity, licentiousness, cowardice, cruelty, and a morbid suspicion bordering on insanity. He was about to embark for England personally to press his suit for the hand of Queen Elizabeth, which went on for years, when the news of the death of Gustaf I reached him. He hurried back for his father's funeral, and subsequently at an assembly of the Estates at Arboga, 1561, got their assent to the so-called Arboga articles which strictly limited the powers of the three royal dukes in their duchies, with their own consent. Thereupon his coronation took place at Uppsala, with a pomp and splendour never seen before in

Sweden; it made an inroad upon the saved-up hoard of his father. At his coronation he introduced the titles of Count and Baron to heighten the splendour of his Court. His nearest kinsmen among the nobility, Svante Sture, Per Brahe, and Gustaf Johansson, were created counts. They received fiefs corresponding to their dignity. Eric continued his suit for the hand of Queen Elizabeth. His agents in England, it is said, tried to poison or assassinate his successful rival, the Earl of Leicester. At the same time he was suing for the hand of Mary Stuart. Then he tried his luck with Renata of Lorraine, the granddaughter of Christian II and heir to his claims on Denmark and Norway; he wrote by turns to her and to Christina of Hesse. The ambitious Eric seized the first opportunity for conquest. The Order of the Teutonic Knights had lost its hold upon Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, and the neighbouring states, Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, all tried to seize a piece of this territory. Russian hordes under Tsar Ivan IV poured into the unhappy country, which sought protection from Poland, Denmark, and Sweden. The island Ösel was taken under the protection of Denmark. The Master of the Teutonic Knights, von Kettler, put himself under the protection of Poland, and became the first duke of a Polish fief. But the old Hansa town of Reval, being strongly Protestant, feared the union with Catholic Poland and turned to King Eric. Klas Kristersson Horn, equally

eminent as admiral and statesman, persuaded the city of Reval and the nobles of North Esthonia to take the oath of fealty to Eric (1561), and to drive out the Poles. This was the beginning of a century of Swedo-Polish wars and of Sweden's Baltic Empire. Sigismund I, the King of Poland, set about making Livonia a Polish province, and in order to win over Duke John of Finland, Eric's brother, he offered him in marriage his sister, Catherine Jagellonica. Eric forbade his brother the marriage, and, as Sweden and Poland were at war in Livonia, he wished to enforce the prohibition. In spite of this, John was married at Wilna, October, 1562, and lent his brother-in-law a sum of money, receiving in return seven fortified castles in Livonia as security. This was a breach of the Arboga articles. Eric suspected the Duke of open rebellion, and summoned him to appear within three weeks in Sweden to answer a charge of high treason. As he did not appear, the Estates assembled at Stockholm sentenced him to lose his life and goods for treason to the Crown. A Swedish army was sent to Finland, and after a month's siege of Åbo Castle, Duke John surrendered (1563). He was not executed, but taken to Gripsholm Castle with his consort, and both were prisoners of state for nearly four years, while many of their adherents were beheaded. About the same time Duke Magnus became insane, and, as Duke Charles was not yet of age, all the three duchies were now in the hands of the King. Eric

had, from the beginning of his reign, a favourite, Göran Persson, his secretary, in whom he had absolute confidence. A pupil of Melanchthon Göran was the illegitimate son of a priest; with his unquestioned ability, his cruelty, and cunning, he influenced his master against the nobility. At his suggestion a High Court, the King's Court, was established, representing the Crown, in which Göran acted as public prosecutor, so that it became a kind of Star Chamber by which noblemen were heavily fined or sentenced to death for political offences. It was an attempt to centralize the government, curtail the power of the nobility, and democratize the administrative procedure. But the sinister influence of Göran nullified the good results expected. The morbid imagination of Eric was aroused and his suspicions fell on the Sture family, which had so often saved Sweden from foreign domination and stood nearest to the throne, after the Vasa family. Svante Sture was married to Märta Leijonhufvud, a sister of the second wife of Gustaf I. Their son, Nils Sture, had shown himself to be possessed of the great gifts of his family as diplomatist and soldier. Through his tutor, Beurreus, Eric had acquired a taste for astrology; he read in the stars that a light-haired man was to dethrone himself, and applied it to Duke John and to Nils Sture. In 1566 Nils Sture and his brother, who had been killed in a naval battle in 1565, were publicly proclaimed traitors and knaves in the central

square of Stockholm, whereupon Nils was sentenced to death by the King's Court for charges of neglect of duty brought against him by Göran. But this was commuted to a degradation worse than death. On a broken-down hack, with a crown of straw on his head, Nils Sture, battered and bruised, was led in a mock procession through the streets of Stockholm; yet a few days later he was released from prison and sent as ambassador to Lorraine to conclude the negotiations for Eric's marriage with Renata. Eric sent him word that his slight and "merciful" punishment was due to the advice of wicked men, and he should therefore acknowledge it to be just and promise not to take revenge for it. Nils would give no such promise, but departed on his embassy.

For seven years (1558–65) Eric had been writing love-letters to Queen Elizabeth; he offered to fight his successful rival, the Earl of Leicester, in a duel on French or Scottish soil, and wrote to his ambassador in London that he wanted to be rid of Leicester, even if it cost ten thousand pounds. All his matrimonial negotiations with various princesses failed, and he married below himself at last. He fell in love with the daughter of a corporal, Karin Mån's daughter. She came to Court as his mistress. The State Council granted his request that, since all his matrimonial negotiations had been fruitless, he should marry any one he pleased—of the ladies of the nobility. He was enraged with the nobles for their opposition

to his marriage with the beautiful Katarina (Catherine Karin).[1]

The year 1567, which Eric in his diary called his "unhappiest year," began inauspiciously. In the spring he was at Svartsjö Castle, the victim of a deep depression, while Göran was collecting proofs of a conspiracy of the nobles against him; they consisted of vague and false rumours. Eric compelled Count Svante Sture and Sten Leijonhufvud to declare that as certain persons had stood in the way of his marriage negotiations abroad, in order to extirpate his posterity, it was his duty to marry any one he pleased, noble or non-noble, and they promised their help to punish those who attempted to thwart his marriage. An assembly was summoned at Uppsala to discuss the matter. The leading nobles were the King's guests at Svartsjö, on their way to Uppsala, when they were arrested and brought before the King's Court, charged with treason. They were taken to Uppsala, where the assembly, consisting almost solely of the non-noble classes, was opened by Eric in a speech wholly dealing with the imaginary conspiracy against himself. Nils Sture arrived with the ring of Renata of Lorraine, who consented to marry Eric, but was thrown into prison by Göran before he saw Eric. The next day Eric was informed of the result of the mission, and wrote to Count Svante Sture that he dis-

[1] For the Seven Years' War, 1563–70, between Denmark and Sweden, see Denmark.

believed all the charges against him; next morning he visited the Count in his prison, and on his knees begged him to forgive all the wrong he had done him. But on the very same day he rushed into Nils Sture's prison in Uppsala Castle, and with the words, "There thou art, traitor!" thrust his dagger through his arm and a spear into his breast, while his men-at-arms finished him. Thereupon he rushed away into the countryside, and cut down his tutor, Beurreus, when he tried to remonstrate with him. He sent word to the castle that all the prisoners, "Except Herr Sten (Mr. Sten)," should be put to death. Half-drunk soldiers foully murdered Count Svante Sture, his son Eric, Abraham Stenbock, a brother of the Queen Dowager, and one more nobleman, while the lives of the two noblemen called Sten were spared since it was uncertain which of them was "Herr Sten." Before these murders were known Göran got the Estates to declare, in writing, that the accused were traitors and deserved the sentences already passed or about to be passed on them. Only on the third day after the murders Eric was found wandering in peasant's dress about the country, and only Karin Mån's daughter succeeded in restoring calm to his troubled mind. He released the two remaining prisoners and tried to effect a reconciliation with the families of the murdered men. To the Countess Sture, whose husband and two sons he had assassinated, he wrote a letter saying that her son had been too

hurriedly slain and that he was highly displeased that the slight difference between them should have been thus handled, but she demanded that the "venomous" persons who inspired the crime should be punished. Göran was tried for peculation and perjury and sentenced to death, but was merely kept in prison. Eric now released his brother John from prison. The Council appointed a regency, for Eric's mental derangement was such that he thought his brother John was the King. They were reconciled on condition that John recognized the legality of Eric's marriage to Karin and his children by her as lawful heirs to the Crown. Eric then recovered. Göran was set free and declared innocent, and he regained his influence. Eric proclaimed that the murdered noblemen had been justly sentenced for the crime of lese-majesty. As none of the noblemen were secure of their lives, the King's brothers, John and Charles, now headed a conspiracy against him. They did not appear at Eric's marriage on July 4, 1568, to Karin, or at her coronation, by the Archbishop Laurentius Petri. Her son was proclaimed heir to the crown. But the nobility was ominously absent. Eric ordered a general thanksgiving for his delivery from the assaults of the devil, one of the strangest documents ever issued by a king. He was at first victorious against the army of the Dukes, but when they stood before Stockholm, the King's men surrendered to them the hated Göran, who was tortured and then

executed. Thereupon the Dukes entered the city, Eric gave himself up against a promise of good treatment and John III was proclaimed King, September 30, 1568. In January, 1569, the Estates formally deposed Eric and his descendants; he was to be imprisoned for life, yet in a princely prison. He was at first ill-treated in prison. His wife and children were allowed to share his prison until he began to be moved about alone from prison to prison. Three conspiracies in his favour were discovered, the most dangerous being the one by the Scotch mercenaries under De Mornay, Archibald Ruthwen, and Gilbert Balfour in 1574; they were executed except Ruthwen, who died in prison. King John was to be stabbed during a Highland sword dance at the royal palace. King John got the State Council to declare that Eric should be put to death in the case of a new rising in his favour. Eric died suddenly in Örbyhus prison, February 24, 1577, probably poisoned by the new governor of the prison at the request of his brother, John III.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE REFORMATION—POLAND

JOHN III (1568–92) was a learned theologian, deeply read in patristic literature. His queen was a Catholic, and he desired to be fair to Catholicism and Protestantism and bring Sweden back to the primitive Apostolic Church of the Fathers. At synods in 1574 and 1575 articles tending in this direction, drawn up by him, were accepted, and in 1576 he issued a new liturgy, modelled on the Reformed Roman Missal and drawn up by himself and his secretary, the so-called Red Book. The Duke of Södermanland would not allow it to be used in his duchy, but in spite of some Protestant opposition it was adopted by the Estates in 1577. The Pope struck while the iron was hot. Two Jesuits from Louvain persuaded John to send messengers to Rome to negotiate for reunion, but he laid down conditions—such as communion in both kinds, a married clergy, the partial use of Swedish in the liturgy—unacceptable to Rome. A papal legate, Antonio Possevino, was sent to convert the King, and in 1578, after much argument, the King made his confession to him and

received absolution and communion in the Roman manner. A Jesuit catechism was substituted for that of Luther in the schools; young Swedes were educated in Jesuit seminaries abroad; Crown Prince Sigismund openly avowed himself a Roman Catholic; but the Holy See rejected John's well-meant attempts to bridge the gulf between Protestantism and Catholicism. His attempts to force his liturgy on the Swedish Church were frustrated by his brother Charles whose duchy became a centre of the opposition against the Romanization of Sweden. After the death of Queen Catherine in 1584 the Romanist tendencies abated, but relations between King and Duke grew worse until they came near breaking-point. They were reconciled before the King's death, being united in their struggle with the aristocracy and the Council. In foreign policy John tried to play Poland and Russia off against each other. After the peace with Denmark in 1570 the Swedes carried on an intermittent and unsuccessful war of conquest against Russia in Livonia and Esthonia, with Reval as their basis. In 1578 John concluded an alliance with Poland against Russia, and the allies defeated the Russians at Venden (1578). While Stephen Bathory, King of Poland, invaded Russia, the Swedes recovered the lost parts of Esthonia and Livonia; Ingrio and Narva fell into their hands. In 1583 Ivan the Terrible made a truce with Sweden which was to retain all her conquests.

On the death of Stephen Bathory, December, 1586, eight months of intrigue by the candidates for the Polish throne followed. Owing to Chancellor Zamoyski, and to the Polish Queen Dowager, a sister of his mother, Sigismund, the heir to the Swedish throne, was elected King of Poland on August 9, 1587. In September, 1587, the statute of Kalmar was signed by the two kings, father and son, before Sigismund sailed for Poland with a view to define the prospective personal union of Sweden and Poland under Sigismund. There was to be full equality and full independence in religion, foreign policy, laws, and government, and the Pope himself was declared unable to release Sigismund from any provision of the statute. When Sigismund was in Poland, Sweden was to be ruled by a council of seven members, six to be nominated by Sigismund and one by Duke Charles. On Sigismund's arrival the Poles refused to do him homage before Esthonia was ceded to them, but finally it was postponed and Sigismund was crowned, December, 1587. John III repented and spent two months with King Sigismund at Reval in 1589, trying to persuade him to abdicate and come back to Sweden. The Council thwarted his plans. He died 1592, reconciled to his brother, Duke Charles, through their joint struggle against the power of the nobles. During his reign Finland was raised to the dignity of a Grand Duchy.

Sigismund I (1592–99) was a fervent Catholic,

educated by Jesuits whose dream was to regain Sweden for the Holy See. Duke Charles and the Council took the reins of government and summoned a synod at Uppsala to formulate the national confession of faith of Sweden so as to leave no loopholes (1593). These zealous Lutherans elected as speaker a prelate who had been imprisoned for refusing to use King John's liturgy. The national covenant which they adopted provides that Holy Scripture and the three primitive Creeds are to be the guides of Faith, that the Augsburg Confession is the sole right interpreter of Holy Writ, that Luther's Catechism should be readopted, and King John's liturgy no longer used. Abraham Angermannus, of the extreme Protestant party, was appointed Archbishop. The Protestants next tried to get a written guarantee of the Uppsala Covenant from Sigismund and to prevent him from landing in Sweden till he had satisfied them. They kept back the fleet, but Sigismund crossed on ships provided by the Governor of Finland; a papal legate, De Malaspina, Jesuits, priests, and Polish nobles came with him (1593). Guarantees of the Uppsala Covenant were demanded of him before the coronation, but he would only promise to give them after being crowned. A bitter struggle ensued for four months until the Estates formed a union to defend the Covenant, and Duke Charles with three thousand men-at-arms sent an ultimatum expiring in twenty-four hours to Sigis-

mund, who was compelled to accept all their demands and recognize the heretical Archbishop (February 16, 1594). He protested secretly to the Jesuits that his coronation oath, to maintain the Augsburg Confession in Sweden, was extorted from him by compulsion. Catholics, including Sigismund himself, had to worship in secret, and sermons were preached against them in the churches. Sweden breathed more freely when Sigismund left for Poland, August, 1594, after a ten months' stay. Charles now ruled Sweden in all but name. He concluded the peace of Teusin (May 18, 1595) with Russia, which ceded all her rights to Esthonia and Narva while Sweden retroceded the Kexholm district in Finland. As Sigismund refused him the title of regent he summoned the Estates to meet at Söderköping (October, 1595) to fix the form of government during the King's residence in Poland. He was appointed regent by the Estates and Council. All Catholic priests were to be expelled from Sweden, all Catholic laymen to be disqualified from office. The Duke himself expelled the Birgittine nuns from Vadstena convent and confiscated their property. The rabid Protestant Primate conducted visitations, in the course of which men and women were flogged and whipped and punished for clinging to the old customs. The scandal became so great that the visitations were suspended. Charles broke with the Council which refused to make war upon the Governor of Fin-

land who remained loyal to Sigismund. Sigismund now authorized the Council alone to govern and inhibited the assembly of the Estates at Arboga (February, 1597). In the absence of the Council the Peasant King, as Charles was called, got the Estates to vest the government in himself and confirmed the statutes of Söderköping. Matters now reached a state of open war. In 1597 Charles sailed to Finland and took Åbo. In July, 1598, Sigismund landed at Kalmar with an army. Cities opened their gates to him and many nobles flocked to his standard. Already the Catholic world saw in spirit a new armada issue from the Catholic North to conquer England. Then Sigismund was defeated by Charles at Stångebro (September 25, 1598). By the armistice at Linköping Sigismund surrendered the fugitive members of the Council to Charles and agreed to abide by the decision of the Estates between them. He broke faith as before, fled to Poland, and declared he would conquer Sweden. Charles saw that he could not be trusted. In July, 1599, Sigismund was formally deposed by the Estates at Stockholm as a papist, an oathbreaker, an enemy of Sweden, while his son Vladislav was to retain the Crown, if he were sent to Sweden within twelve months, to be educated as a Protestant. As no answer came from Poland the Estates assembled at Linköping, March, 1600, declared that Sigismund and his descendants had forfeited the Swedish Crown. Duke Charles,

who since February, 1599, had worn the title "Hereditary Prince of Sweden," was acclaimed as King Charles IX. At the same time he appointed an extraordinary tribunal of members of the Estates to try the nobles, whom he accused of treason; merciless in his vengeance he had the fugitive members of the Council publicly beheaded in the market-place of Linköping. He showed the same severity in Finland, where the son of the Governor was executed as his dead father was beyond the King's reach. Charles did not call himself king till 1604, when Duke John, Sigismund's half-brother, renounced his birthright, and was not crowned till 1607. Charles began the long war of succession with Poland, 1600–60, by invading Livonia (August, 1600). Next year he was master of the country except Riga and Kokenhausen. But in 1601 to 1605 Poland's great general, Chodkievicz, recovered fortress after fortress and the Swedes were defeated from time to time. Their greatest defeat was when Charles with sixteen thousand men attacked Chodkievicz with only five thousand at Kirkholm, near Riga, and left upon the field nearly twice as many dead as the whole number of the Polish troops. Sigismund did not follow up the victory. The Swedes took the fortresses when the Poles were quarrelling at home, but lost them again to Chodkievicz. In 1609 Charles concluded a treaty of alliance with the Tsar against Poland. Jacob de la Gardie entered

Moscow with an army of mercenaries (1610), but at the battle of Klutsjino (June, 1610), his mercenaries deserted, the Russians fled, and the Poles entered Moscow. Vladislav, Sigismund's son, was proclaimed Tsar. Soon the Russians rose against their new ruler, De la Gardie stormed Kexholm in Russian Finland, 1611, and Novgorod in July, 1611. He made a treaty with Novgorod that Charles Philip, the brother of Gustavus Adolphus, should be recognized by the city as Tsar. It was in this year that the Danish war began. Charles IX died, sixty years of age, October 30, 1611. He has been called a cruel and vindictive tyrant and a harsh fanatic, but he showed courage and statesmanship in a difficult time of transition. The Protestant foundations laid by Gustavus Vasa he handed on to Gustavus Adolphus greatly strengthened.

CHAPTER XXV

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS (1611–32) is the greatest name in Swedish history, one of the greatest of all time. He was born on December 9, 1594, at Stockholm Castle. His eloquent tutor, Johan Skytte, gave him a humanistic education based on the Bible and the classics. He grew up with Swedish and German for mother-tongues, but Latin, Italian, Dutch, Russian, Polish, Spanish were also mastered by him. With equal ease he learnt the science of war and all chivalrous accomplishments. His mind and body were so early developed that at thirteen he discussed state affairs with foreign ambassadors, at fifteen he opened Parliament with a speech from the throne, and administered his own duchy. At sixteen he practically held the reins of government with his father as co-regent, and won his spurs by a daring feat in the Danish war. He took the fortress of Christianopel with a few men by surprise (June, 1611). His father wished to let him learn in the school of life, not of books. Immense were the hopes which centred on his dazzling natural gifts.

All men were swept off their feet by his winning charm, his fiery high-mindedness, his eager thirst for knowledge. His father used to say of him: *Ille faciet, he* will do it—*i. e.*, accomplish all he could not accomplish. When he uttered these words he never dreamt they would come so true as they did.

When Charles IX died, October 30, 1611, his successor was not yet seventeen years. Danger surrounded him on all sides. At war with Russia; Poland, then the largest kingdom in Europe, wanting to drive the Swedes from their footholds on the shore of the Baltic; Sweden barely holding her own against the Danes, who were in possession of her two chief fortresses. There was at first a short interval of regency by the Dowager Queen and Duke John. Though Gustavus had been recognized as the heir to the throne by the Norrköping decree, yet by natural law of descent, which Parliament could not override, the son of John III had his rights. At the Nyköping Parliament, December, 1611, Duke John surrendered his claims to Gustavus with his blessing. The young King was declared of age though he was only seventeen, not eighteen, the full age, and fealty was sworn to him (December 26, 1611). He gave a royal charter extending the privileges of the nobility and the Council, and promised not to declare war, conclude peace or alliances, impose taxes or make laws without the consent of the Council, the Estates, and the people. He

pardoned the noblemen whom his father had exiled and won the hearts of the nobility. All classes closed their ranks round the young King. Its strong hereditary monarchy and its sturdy peasantry saved Sweden from the disasters into which the rule of the nobility plunged Denmark. Gustavus omitted from his title the words "King of the Lapps," the chief cause of the Danish war, but Christian IV rejected his terms. During a raid in Scania, Gustavus was surprised by an overwhelming force at Wittsjö, February, 1612, and had a narrow escape; his horse fell through the ice in crossing a river, and he himself was pulled out with difficulty by a faithful soldier. In the summer of 1612 the Danes took Elfsborg and Öland and penetrated into Central Sweden. The Protestant Powers tried to negotiate peace. Through the mediation of James I, the brother-in-law of Christian IV, Danish and Swedish statesmen met at Knäred, in Halland, to discuss terms, and peace was signed there on January 20, 1613, on onerous terms for Sweden. Sweden renounced her claims to Finmark, the country of the Lapps, and conceded to Denmark the right to quarter the three crowns in her arms. In return Swedish vessels were to be exempt from customs and dues in the sound. Conquests on both sides were to be mutually restored immediately, except Elfsborg, which was to be redeemed by Sweden for one million rixdollars, and together with seven counties of Västergötland to be held by Denmark

for six years within which the above sum was to be paid in equal instalments. Denmark had for the last time vindicated her hegemony in the North, and Sweden had a second time to redeem her only port in the West. This war indemnity pressed heavily on the people, and Gustavus had to send all the royal silver plate to the mint to be melted into coins, for Christian IV would only accept ready money for every instalment. Every Swedish home had to give up some treasure, and this has ever since rankled in Swedish memories.

In Russia the Swedish arms were ever victorious. Jacob de la Gardie conquered Ingria and compelled Great Novgorod, the richest city in Russia, and all North-western Russia, to recognize Duke Charles Philip, a younger brother of Gustavus, as Tsar. He was carving out a new empire, stretching to the White Sea and to the Ural, under Swedish suzerainty. But Charles Philip arrived too late to his empire. In February, 1613, the Russian people elected a native Russian, Michael Romanov, Tsar, and the war against Sweden was now carried on with more energy. De la Gardie continued to win victories over superior forces, but nevertheless he was insecure in the midst of a hostile population. Gustavus twice crossed the seas and conducted operations at the seat of war. After raising the siege of Pskov he returned through Finland; during his stay there he convoked the first Finnish diet (Landtdag) in January, 1616. Again King James I

mediated at the request of Russia, and after eighteen months of negotiations peace was concluded on February 27, 1617, at Stolbova. Russia ceded to Sweden Eastern Carelia (Kexholm province) and Ingria. The key to Finland, Nöteborg on the Neva (the later Schlüsselburg), became Swedish. Sweden retroceded all other conquests and acknowledged Michael Romanov as Tsar; Russia paid a war indemnity of twenty thousand rubles and renounced her claims on Esthonia and Livonia. Trade was declared free between the two countries. At his coronation soon after the peace, Gustavus spoke to the assembled Estates about the great advantages won through this peace. Russia had been excluded from the Baltic, and the eastern frontier of Sweden was now protected by a barrier of morass, rivers, and lakes, among them the huge Ladoga Lake: "I hope to God the Russians will not find it easy to skip over that brook." He understood fully that when Russia became aware of her giant strength and pushed forward to the sea Sweden could hardly hope to hem her in; her population numbered less than one thirtieth of that of Russia, and she could only defend her foothold on the Baltic against the Russian Empire by sheer heroism.

Four years of peace followed the peace of Stolbova. The truce with Poland was renewed. No Swedish king except Gustaf I has done so much for Sweden in times of peace as Gustavus

Adolphus. He took the initiative in all matters, starting afresh or completing the work of his father and grandfather. In 1617, he enacted rules and regulations for the Estates, England being the only other country in Europe that had a parliamentary procedure. The King, supported by the Council and the highest officers of State, addresses the four assembled Estates. He elects a nobleman to be the spokesman of the nobility, the first Estate, who is called Landtmarskalk (Marshal of the Diet). The Primate of Sweden is the spokesman of the three lower Estates. Each Estate debates the royal proposals or bills laid before it in its own chamber separately, but the reply of each is handed to the King in common session. If the King and the Estates should differ, they would meet each other to adjust matters; but if the Estates differed among themselves, each Estate was to defend its own opinion before the King, who could accept the opinion he liked best. The Constitution of the House of Nobles (Riddarhus), instituted by Gustavus, was given in 1626. Only the families who had access to that House were recognized as noble, they and their descendants; the nobility was divided into three classes: (1) counts and barons, (2) descendants of State councillors, (3) knights. As each class voted as a separate body, the highest nobles, though few in number, prevailed in that House. But if the nobility had great privileges, Gustavus demanded much from them; every nobleman

must need serve the State, in peace or in war. The nobility were carried away by an irresistible current of devotion, of gratitude, of affection and admiration for the genius in whom was seen that rarest of combinations—strength and gentleness. They abandoned many of their privileges and submitted to be taxed like other classes, for a time. Class egotism could not live near the great King who inspired them with his example.

He put the whole administration on a new footing. He established a Supreme Court at Stockholm, 1614, from which an appeal lay to the King. He addressed the judges thus: "If any judge acts with a view to please the King or any one else, the King will have him flayed, his skin nailed up in court, and his ears on the stocks." Taxation was simplified and regulated, and the first State Budget of Sweden was issued. He founded fifteen new towns. Gothenburg (Göteborg), destroyed in the Danish war, was rebuilt on its present site, 1619. The Dutch millionaire, Louis De Geer, was called in to start ironworks and mining on a large scale. Gustavus gave to the University of Uppsala the whole of his patrimony, all that remained of the Gustavian estates, over three hundred farms, even to-day the chief source of income of that university. Klas Fleming created a Swedish navy numbering about sixty men-of-war. Famous foreigners entered his service, Hugo Grotius, Van Dyck, Rutgers.

King Sigismund of Poland claimed the throne

of Sweden by right of primogeniture, and contemptuously gave Gustavus the title of Duke of Södermanland in their negotiations. To Gustavus a war against Poland was a war of religion. Poland was to him a dangerous member of the Popish League. The truce between Sweden and Poland had been renewed from year to year. In 1621 Poland was involved in a war with Turkey, and after Sigismund had rejected the offer of Gustavus to allow him to assume the title of King of Sweden, Gustavus sailed with a large fleet and an army, July, 1621, and laid siege to Riga. The King directed the siege of this strong city with consummate ability; to encourage the soldiers he and his brother worked with spades in the trenches. After a month's valiant defence Riga surrendered and the greater part of Livonia swore fealty to Gustavus. His brother, Duke Charles Philip, died in January, 1622, of dysentery which was making great ravages in the Swedish army. The fame of Gustavus spread in Europe and all Protestants looked to him to right the cause of the German Protestants against Catholic tyranny. He wanted to unite all the Protestant Powers in a league, of which he was to be the leader. But Christian IV, jealous of the rising power of Sweden took the lead single-handed against the House of Habsburg in the disastrous war, 1625–29. Gustavus, after the expiry of a truce (1622–25), continued his war in Poland, in 1625. He completed the conquest of Livonia, won his first

pitched battle at Wallhof, January, 1626, without losing a single man, after crossing the frozen Dwina, and invaded Courland and Lithuania. In his next campaign, in the summer of 1626, he transferred the war to the Prussian provinces of Poland. He wished to secure the control of the Vistula, like that of the Dwina, in order to force Poland to make peace. His brother-in-law, the Protestant Elector of Brandenburg, Georg Wilhelm, held East Prussia as a fief from Poland, and the Protestant city, Dantzic, would, Gustavus thought, support him against Catholic Poland. But the cautious Elector feared the threats of his suzerain, Sigismund of Poland, and dared not ally himself with Gustavus for fear of losing his fief, East Prussia. Dantzic, too, besides enjoying the fullest religious liberty, had free trade with her suzerain, Poland. In June, 1626, Gustavus arrived with his fleet before Pillau. This place commanded the Vistula, and from it duties could be levied on all Prussian trade. It belonged to the Elector, but Gustavus occupied it for strategic reasons. Axel Oxenstierna became the first governor of the conquered territory in the delta of the Vistula.

The wealthy Hansa city of Dantzic was now invested by land and sea. The siege dragged on, and the Swedes were harassed by the brave Polish guerilla leader, Koniecpolski. In his second Prussian campaign, 1627, Gustavus beat the Poles in many actions; under fire he often went ahead

of his men, and was twice dangerously wounded by bullets, and so disabled in one shoulder that he could never wear armour again. Meanwhile, in 1627 Wallenstein's armies ravaged all Jutland, and occupied the Baltic coast. Wallenstein aimed at dominating the Baltic with a strong fleet, after seizing the Danish islands. The Emperor nominated him "Captain-General of the Baltic." Austria and Spain were thus on the point of crushing Protestantism in the North. After Denmark it would be the turn of Sweden. Gustavus saw that war between himself and the House of Habsburg was inevitable, and prepared for it. The Parliament of 1627 granted him subsidies to continue the war. A secret committee of the Estates advised him to resist the domination of the Baltic by the Emperor and assist Denmark. The Netherlands in vain attempted to mediate. Sigismund continued to refuse Gustavus the title of King. Then Gustavus took a decisive step. Early in 1628 he made a treaty of alliance with Denmark for the defence of the Baltic, and also with the Hansa city of Stralsund, then besieged and hard pressed by Wallenstein. Stralsund was so strongly reinforced by Danish and Swedish troops that it held out against Wallenstein. Gustavus counted on the assistance of Denmark to make Germany the seat of war, and met Christian IV in February, 1629, in a parsonage on the border of Halland. In eloquent words he begged Danes and Swedes to stand together to defend their liberties and their

religion against the tyranny of the Emperor and the Catholics. Christian IV said Gustavus had better leave the Emperor in peace. Gustavus then burst out in anger: "Your Highness may be sure of this, that be it who it will, who acts thus against us, Emperor or King, Prince or Republic, or thousand devils, we shall seize one another by the ears so hard that the hairs shall stand on end." The interview was without result. By concluding peace at Lübeck on favourable conditions the Emperor detached Christian IV from his ally. The delegates of Sweden were refused access to the peace negotiations by Wallenstein. During Gustavus's fourth Prussian campaign in 1629, ten thousand Imperial troops under Johan von Arnim, joined the Poles against him. From his entrenched camps in the delta of the Vistula he defied their superior forces. In a surprise attack by Koniecpolski near Stuhm, Gustavus several times narrowly escaped death or capture. Poland was tired of the continuous war, and accepted the mediation of France. A six years' truce was concluded at Altmark on the Vistula, 1629. During this truce Sweden was to retain Livonia with Riga, in West Prussia, Elbing, Braunsberg, and a huge slice of the delta of the Vistula, and in East Prussia, Pillau and Memel. Axel Oxenstierna became the first Governor-General of the conquered Prussian provinces. Most important were the large customs duties levied at the Prussian ports by Sweden; they produced a larger

sum than the whole revenue of Sweden herself, and the control of Germany's principal trade routes to the Baltic also assisted Gustavus in the arduous enterprise for which he was making anxious and elaborate preparations. A nation numbering a little over a million set out to measure itself against the greatest military Power of the time. The little Swedish army of hardy yeomen was to measure itself against armies numerically many times superior, and commanded by generals reputed to be invincible. We can read Gustavus's mind in his correspondence with Axel Oxenstierna. Since war was inevitable, it was best, he argued, to make Germany the seat of war. The Swedish fleet was too weak to blockade the Baltic ports. It was safer to seize and fortify them, and so prevent the Emperor from building up in the Baltic a sea power threatening the independence both of Sweden and Denmark. This could only be done by offensive war in the heart of the enemy's country. It was true the risk of being overwhelmed by huge armies commanded by the greatest generals of the age, Tilly and Wallenstein, was great, but "one lost battle would give the Emperor's prestige a bad shaking," and one success would win allies and assistance in Germany itself. Deeply religious as Gustavus was, he regarded himself as the divinely appointed instrument of delivery for his fellow-Protestants in Germany from "the murder of their souls by tyranny." He was intensely convinced that

God would help his cause, the cause of humanity, yet fully aware that Sweden might through him win the hegemony of Protestant Europe, Sweden, which after all occupied the largest part of his heart. Thus, even in the highest of mankind, motives are mixed.

When he was ready, he summoned the Estates to Stockholm, and solemnly took leave of them on May 19, 1630, holding in his arms his only child, Christina, then three years old. He committed the heir to the throne to the keeping of his faithful subjects. He declared to them, as he stood there in the sight of the Almighty, that he had not entered upon this war out of desire for war, "as many will certainly impute and imagine," but in self-defence, driven thereto by the hostile acts of the Emperor and by the prayers of oppressed fellow-Protestants. He wished to lay bare his motives. He addressed each Estate separately with words of encouragement and advice. He finally uttered memorable words, filled with the foreboding that he was never to set eyes on Sweden again. "Since it generally happens that the pitcher goes so often to the well that at last it breaks, thus also it will fall out with me that I, who in many dangers have needs shed my blood for the welfare of Sweden, though hitherto God has spared my life, yet at last I must lose it. Therefore I do commend you all to God's protection, wishing that after this troublesome life we may all meet each other with God in the heavenly

CUM DUPLICANTUR LATERES
VENIT MOSES.
Wenn mag die Hand duplirt
Solomo Moses und librirt.
Weil denn die Leiden vermehret wer-
den, vnd die Ar meen stauffen, voll
ech auff sprichwörter Ehre, so wil eine hülf
schaffen, dass man grösser leren sol.
psal: 12. V. 6.
Nim hin
scheenert
das heilige Schwert, das dir Gott
damit solstu die Feinde schlagen.
2 Macc: 15. V. 16.
Ich ruffe einen Vogel vom Auffgang, vnd einen Mann
der meinen anschlag thue, aus einem Lande. Ja ich sage
das lasse ich kommen, was ich gedacht habe ich auch
Esa: 46. V. 11.
GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS SUAM SUECIAM LIBERAT
RUSSIA
SUECIA
GOTTIA
Da sie schrien mit grosse stimm vnd stracken Berg
die Heiligen vnd warhafftiger wie lange richtestu vnd
rechnest nicht vnser Blut an denen die auff Erden wonen.
Apoc. 6. V. 10.
Denn mit dir fare ich Kriegsvolck zu schimpff vnd mit
meinen Hor vberzeuge Kummen zu richten.
Psal. 78. V. 10.
Ja für diesen das Seufftzen der Gefangenen
Nach deinem grossen Arm behalte die Kinder des
Todes. Psal. 79. V. 11.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS LANDING IN GERMANY

immortal life." When he had foretold his own death in these simple words, all eyes were filled with tears. But their hearts were full of high hopes, and they shrank from no sacrifice. The Secret Committee of the Estates granted him subsidies for three years in advance.

On Midsummer Day, 1630, the Swedish fleet arrived off the island of Usedom, on the Pomeranian coast. Gustavus landed his army, thirteen thousand men, at Peenemünde. He was the first to step ashore, where he knelt down in silent prayer. Round him knelt his officers, Swedish noblemen whose names were soon to be emblazoned on the roll of the great military commanders of the time. The sunny and stimulating influence of Gustavus drew out the great qualities in the men around him. Single-handed against the mighty empire on whose threshold they stood, they faced the odds with confidence. The Swedish garrison in Stralsund, commanded by Leslie, had taken Rügen; the King now occupied Usedom and Wollin, and in a few months, by means of reinforcements, he commanded forty thousand men, one half of them Swedes. He began to penetrate into Germany along the line of the Oder. Stettin was the key to it, but Bogislav IV, Duke of Pomerania, sat neutral in his capital. Gustavus suddenly stood before Stettin and compelled the old Duke to receive a Swedish garrison and leave his duchy in the hands of the Swedes. There was no resistance, for the Pomeranians received

him with open arms as a friend and deliverer; Stettin became the base of operations to clear Pomerania of Imperial troops, which was finished by the end of the year. The strict discipline of the Swedes won them the confidence of the inhabitants, who were used to the roughness of the mercenaries of every nationality who served the Emperor. The name of the "gracious, gentle master" became a household word in every German home. The people welcomed him, but the German Protestant princes were held back by petty jealousies and fear of the Emperor. Fortunately, amidst all this pusillanimity the Emperor dismissed Wallenstein and reduced his army at the bidding of the Catholic League, August, 1630. Gustavus had refused the offer of an alliance by France until Richelieu treated him as an equal. At Bärwalde, on January 13, 1631, an alliance with France was concluded by Gustavus, who undertook to restore the *status quo ante* in Germany and maintain there an army of twenty-six thousand men, in return for an annual subsidy of four hundred thousand rixdollars. The leading Protestant princes of Germany, the Elector of Saxony and the Elector of Brandenburg, shilly-shallied and tried to induce Gustavus to turn back. A Protestant congress sat for three months at Leipsic, and the result of all its verbiage was nil. But Magdeburg had openly declared for Gustavus in August, 1630. He promised to protect this great city, which undertook to hold

the passage across the Elbe open for him. He sent one of his ablest officers to organize the defence of the city, which was besieged by the Imperial troops. He had given his royal word to relieve Magdeburg, the key to South-west Germany, his only ally. He made two attempts to relieve her by way of Mecklenburg. Meanwhile food and ammunition were running short, and despairing appeals reached Gustavus, who, in order to arrive in time to save the city, demanded of the two Protestant Electors (Brandenburg and Saxony) a free passage through their territory and the union of their troops with his, since the besieging army under Tilly was double the strength of that of Gustavus. He was compelled to dictate terms to the Elector of Brandenburg at the gates of Berlin, May 14, 1631; the Elector was to pay monthly subsidies to him and leave his two main fortresses in Swedish hands till Magdeburg was relieved. The Elector of Saxony, however, barred the ford on the Elbe at Wittenberg, the nearest way to Magdeburg, and Gustavus had to take a longer route. On the very day he had to turn back, May 20, Magdeburg had been stormed, plundered, and fired by the hordes of Tilly. The wealthiest and most populous city of North Germany was reduced to a heap of black ruins, and Tilly's army had to retreat southwards, in a famished condition. Gustavus had solemnly held the Elector of Saxony responsible at the time for what evil might befall

Magdeburg, but the blame of its fate was, nevertheless, laid on himself. He now entrenched himself at Werben, at the confluence of the Havel and the Elbe. His army was too weak in numbers till the German Protestants joined, but he beat off Tilly's superior forces with ease in his trenches. The Emperor, by ordering the disbandment of the troops of the Protestant princes and the execution of the sequestration decrees against them, forced them out of their neutrality. Landgrave William of Hesse-Cassel and the Dukes William and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, tried warriors, joined Gustavus in his camp. Even the Elector of Saxony was forced out of his neutrality. Tilly ravaged his territory when he refused to declare himself friend or foe. Courier upon courier reached Gustavus imploring his assistance, and a treaty was concluded which made him master of Saxony and its army. He could now take the field as the recognized leader of all German Protestants. Tilly awaited him in the plain of Breitenfeld, one mile north of Leipsic. The opposed armies were almost equally strong, but the Imperialists stood on the edge of rising ground. The invincible Spanish tertiaries were massed together in huge squares, fifty men deep. The Swedish lines were only six men deep. Gustavus, a master in the art of war, introduced two changes which marked the difference between mediæval and modern tactics. He substituted light columns and shallow lines of soldiers for the fighting in

heavy masses. He introduced flying artillery; up till then artillery was stationed in a fixed position, as Tilly's was at Breitenfeld. The flint-lock muskets of Gustavus were light to handle, while Tilly's muskets were so heavy that they had to be rested on iron forks in the ground when the burning matches were applied to them. The King himself commanded the right wing, Gustavus Horn the left, Lennart Torstensson the artillery. Gustavus, reining in his horse in front of his troops, bared his head and said in a loud voice: "From a distant land, from beloved homes, are we come here to battle for freedom, for truth, for Thy Gospel. Give us victory for the sake of Thy Holy Name. Amen!"

The battle lasted from sunrise to sunset of September 7, 1631, and was hotly contested. The Saxons, on the extreme left, "took to their heels by companies," as Gustavus said afterwards, at the first onset, and the victorious Imperialists with overwhelming forces, took Horn in the flank, but he coolly reformed his front in the midst of the action and beat them off. On the right wing the famous cavalry leader, Pappenheim, charged no less than seven times with his irresistible dash and bravery, and was repulsed each time by the cool, steady fire of the Swedish infantry under Banér, who reformed his ranks during a life and death struggle against superior forces. Gustavus stormed the hill on which Tilly's guns were placed, and after capturing them turned them

against his centre. This decided the issue of the battle. The Imperialists scattered in wild flight. Wounded in three places, Tilly was only saved by the invincible Spanish tertiaries, which stood like a wall, under a deadly artillery fire, in the square formed round him, till sunset, and then retired slowly. The slaughter was great; seven thousand Imperialists killed and five thousand prisoners; their camp and artillery and the military chest fell into Swedish hands. The Swedes lost seven hundred men, and the Saxons two thousand. It was the first pitched battle fought by Gustavus after his landing and it marks a turning-point in the Thirty Years' War. The defeat of the invincible Tilly saved the German Protestants from being crushed by the House of Austria; it raised Sweden to the rank of one of the Great Powers of Europe. Good Catholics refused to believe in the victory of Gustavus, as "if God had suddenly turned Lutheran."

Two main roads stood open to Gustavus in following up his victory, south-east to the Austrian Crownlands, or south-west into Franconia. At a council of war Oxenstierna was in favour of dictating peace at the gates of Vienna, but Gustavus thought it unsafe to leave Tilly in his rear and decided to liberate and arm the Protestants in South-west Germany. He sent the Saxon Elector into Bohemia, while he himself, now master of the line of the Elbe, marched to the Rhine. His journey was more like a triumphal progress than

SEAL OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

a campaign. Rich towns and fortresses surrendered at his approach on his way through the Main valley. Marienburg-on-Main was carried by storm and sacked; its valuable library was sent to Uppsala, and the Swedish soldiers counted their gold coins by the hatful. He crossed the Rhine and cleared the Palatinate of its Spanish garrisons. At Mayence he established his winter quarters, while he resided at Frankfort-am-Main, where he was joined by his queen and his chancellor. All the Protestant princes of Germany and ambassadors and diplomatists from all Europe flocked to his Court. At Christmas, 1631, his armies numbered one hundred thousand men, only one fifth of them Swedes. His front extended from the Rhine and Neckar to the Moldau. For the Saxon Elector had occupied Prague. Gustavus planned a League of all the Protestant princes of Germany, under the headship of Sweden. The Baltic Empire, necessary for the existence of Sweden, was to be established by members of the League guaranteeing to Sweden her possession of the Baltic coast of Germany. With the object of alienating his ally, France, still more gigantic plans were attributed to the "Protestant Emperor," as he was called, namely, that after the conquest of Germany he wished to subdue France with the assistance of the Huguenots and even to extirpate Catholicism in Europe by crossing the Alps and seizing the keys of St. Peter.

Early in the spring of 1632 Tilly advanced from the Danube against Horn, who commanded one of the four armies which Gustavus had raised, and reoccupied Bamberg. The King now set out from the Rhine with the main army, leaving Oxenstierna to guard his conquests there, and repulsed Tilly who retired into Bavaria. On his way he visited the free Protestant city of Nürnberg where costly gifts and honours were showered on the liberator. The capture of Donauwörth opened to him the passage across the Danube, but he found Tilly awaiting him in a strongly entrenched camp on the opposite bank of the River Lech. Under the protection of a heavy artillery fire he forced the passage of the Lech; a cannon-ball shattered Tilly's leg early in the action, and his dispirited troops fled from their entrenchments pursued by the Swedes. Tilly died a fortnight later, being spared the disgrace of resigning his command to Wallenstein. Bavaria now lay at the feet of the conqueror; city upon city, freed from its Catholic garrison, did homage to him, and in May, 1632, he entered Munich without opposition. He was now master of territories that extended from the Alps—his troops had occupied the Alpine passes—to the Arctic Ocean. Never before had Sweden been raised to such a pinnacle of power and glory.

Meantime Wallenstein had been sulking in Bohemia, after his dismissal, and even entered into secret correspondence with Gustavus. The

Emperor now appealed to him. He would only take command on condition that plenipotentiary powers, military and political, independent of the Emperor, were conceded to him. He took the field with forty thousand men, stamped out of the earth by the magic of his name, occupied Prague and cleared Bohemia of the Saxons with great speed. Then he marched into Franconia to draw Gustavus northward and avert the danger that threatened Austria. He tried to win over the Elector of Saxony by offering him his own terms. Gustavus hastened north, but after the junction of Wallenstein's army with that of Maximilian of Bavaria had raised it to sixty thousand men his army was less than one third of the Imperialist forces, and he therefore retired within the walls of Nürnberg, which he converted into a strongly fortified camp. Wallenstein, on his part, entrenched himself on the neighbouring hills in a camp twelve miles in circumference in order to blockade the King in the city. From June 30th to August 21st they laid siege to each other, watching closely every movement. Reinforced with fresh troops drawn from his scattered armies the King, after vainly offering battle to Wallenstein, stormed Alte Veste, the main position of Wallenstein's camp (August 24th), but had to withdraw with heavy losses. Torstensson was made prisoner and Banér wounded in his desperate climbing of this steep hill. As famine and disease raged in the city and in his camp, Gustavus

marched away southwards and Wallenstein had to leave for the same reasons. Both had endured all the horrors of a siege and lost nearly thirty thousand soldiers, with no decisive results, for it was a drawn game. Wallenstein now invaded Saxony to compel the Elector to abandon the Swedish alliance, and Gustavus had to return from the Danube, by forced marches, to prevent the vacillating Elector from being won over by the enemy. As he passed, in towns and villages, the inhabitants flocked together to gaze upon the "Liberator," kneeling and struggling for the honour of touching the sheath of his sword or the hem of his garment. Duke Bernard of Weimar joined him and he decided to surprise Wallenstein, who had sent Pappenheim with ten thousand men away. Wallenstein consulted his astrologers and, finding the stars hostile to Gustavus, determined on battle on the plain of Lützen. Owing to delay in the Swedish advance Wallenstein found time to collect his forces, more than equal in strength to the Swedish army. Pappenheim called back, arrived in time for the battle.

On the morning of November 6, 1632, at dawn, all was in readiness and in full order of battle, but a thick autumn mist which covered the plain retarded the Swedish attack till noon. The Swedish foot were in the centre, commanded by Nils Brahe, the right wing was led by the King in person, the left by Duke Bernard. King and army knelt down in prayer, whereupon the King,

clad in a leathern doublet, his wounds not permitting him to wear armour, rode along the ranks, to animate and inspire his soldiers. The mist began to clear. The signal to advance was given. Against the deadly fire of musketry and artillery from the trenches the Swedes pressed forward across the high road with deep ditches, which ran along the front of the Imperialists; they carried a battery and trained its cannon against the enemy. Overwhelmed by superior numbers they were driven back, with the loss of the captured battery, leaving the trenches strewed with their dead. When the Swedish infantry were repulsed Gustavus brought up cavalry and passed the ditch. By this time the autumn mist again obscured the battlefield. Victorious again Gustavus learned that Pappenheim was overwhelming his left wing. Placing himself at the head of the Småland horse he rode hurriedly to the rescue, but owing to the lightning speed at which he rode only three attendants and the Duke of Lauenburg could keep pace with him. In the fog he came close upon Austrian cavalry; in the hand-to-hand fight his horse was wounded and his arm was shattered by a musket-ball. Overcome with pain, he requested the Duke to lead him out of the *mêlée*, but was shot through the back when moving off; as he sank from his horse his page tried to help him to mount another when the Croatian horsemen came up and dispatched him with shot and sword as he lay on the ground.

The royal steed, its empty saddle covered with blood, galloping along their ranks, announced to the Swedes the death of their leader. The fate of their beloved hero inspired them with a mad thirst for revenge, and the soldiers demanded loudly to be led against the enemy; exhausted as they were, they threw themselves on the Imperialists in an irresistible charge. The enemy retired in confusion and their batteries were taken. But overpowered with fresh numbers the Swedes were driven beyond the trenches; whole regiments were cut down and Nils Brahe mortally wounded. Pappenheim was shot through the heart, searching for Gustavus in the hostile ranks, but he learnt the news of his death before he closed his eyes. Finally Wallenstein retreated under cover of darkness, leaving his artillery on the battlefield which was covered with more than twelve thousand dead and wounded. The lifeless body of the Hero King was discovered buried under a heap of dead, stripped stark naked, covered with blood from nine wounds, trampled by horse-hoofs almost beyond recognition. The battle was celebrated as a victory by Austria and Spain, Te Deums were celebrated at Vienna, Madrid, and Rome, and a miracle play, "The Death of the King of Sweden," was acted before the Spanish Court.

At the height of his fame and power, in the flower of his age, thirty-three days before he completed his thirty-eighth year, he died the death on the

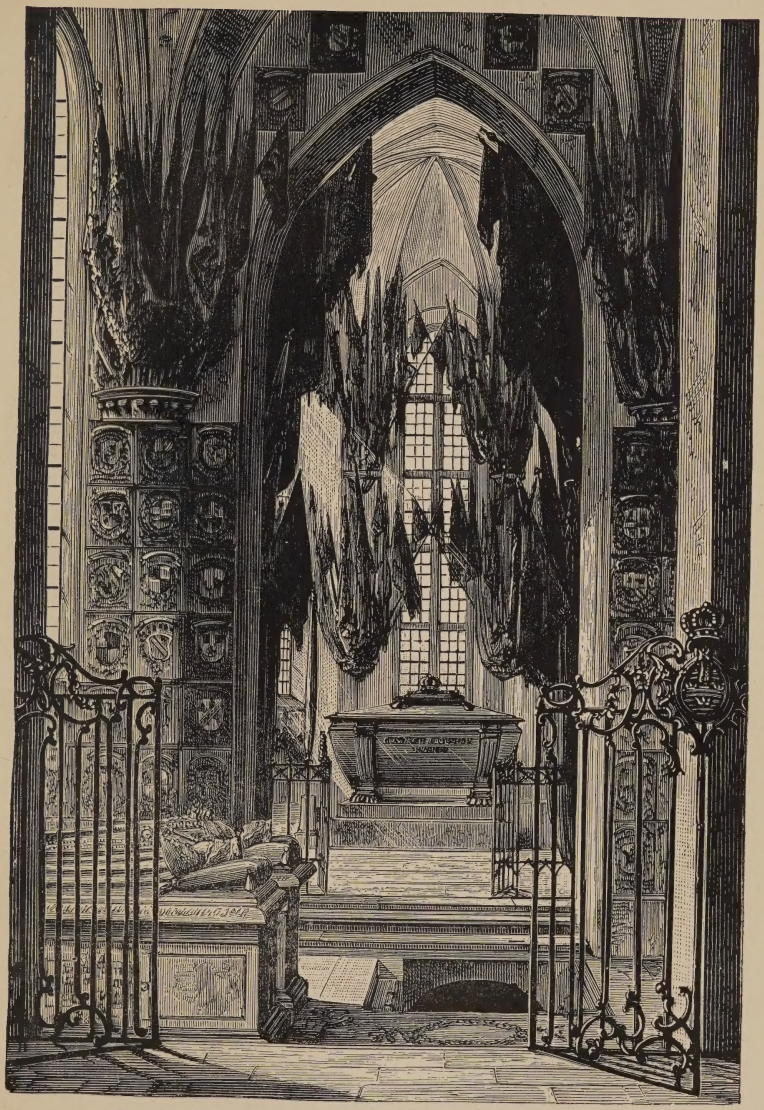
DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AT LÜTZEN

A Dutch print

battlefield he always had in view. Rarely had one man's death made a deeper impression. The jubilant Catholics could not withhold their admiration, and even in their portraits his heroic figure stands forth luminous. A deliverer, true, wise, pure, and noble, he is one of the few who have wrested round the course of the world. Yet he died full of aspirations which were still unsatisfied, marvellous as his achievements had been. As Oxenstierna says in his letters, to be a Protestant Emperor, a Scandinavian Emperor of a Baltic Empire with Sweden for its centre, this was his aim. "He saved religious liberty for the world," says the German inscription on the stone at Breitenfeld. Even the down-trodden Greek at the sound of his name dreamed of freedom. Religion and policy were with him closely intertwined. If religious liberty was destroyed in Germany, it could not live in Sweden, and Germany lay prostrate at the feet of the Jesuits, "the enemies of God and man." In the midst of success and prosperity he looked upon himself as an instrument in the hand of God. The British Ambassador at the Swedish Court, Sir Thomas Roe, writes to London on August 16, 1630, of Gustavus: "How necessary he is to the general welfare of Christendom, as if he were elect of God for the great work." When Oxenstierna warned him not to expose himself so rashly in battle, he said: "God the Almighty lives, though I die." As for his statesmanship he met as

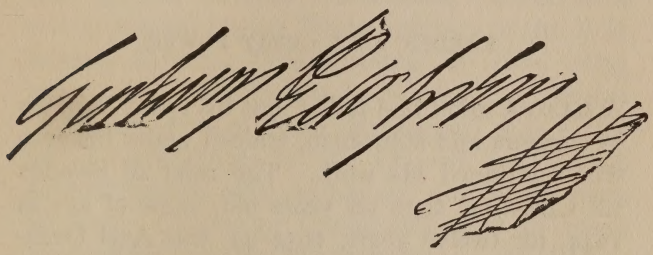
an equal the statecraft of Richelieu. Napoleon said of him he had revolutionized the art of war, and his military reforms were adopted by all armies, but he remained a comrade of his soldiers, by whose side he fought and prayed. He was the bravest soldier in his army. He shared their hardships and their humble fare. Scotch and English volunteers flocked to his standards and formed whole regiments, no less than eighty-seven British officers, mainly Scotch, serving in his army.[1] The earliest account of the death of Gustavus is found in a letter written on November 22nd, sixteen days after Lützen, by an Englishman, Fleetwood, to his father. Leslie, Ramsay, Sir James Spence, Ruthwen, Stewart, Johnston served Gustavus. Hamilton, Douglas, Gladstane, and others remained and founded families in Sweden after the war. Drummond of Hawthornden wrote an elegy on Gustavus's death. A nobler figure never stood in the forefront of a nation's life. Tall and broad-shouldered, with the fairest of fair hair—"*il re d'oro*," the Golden King, the Italians called him—he loved soft music and simple songs, and would sit, lute in hand, in his camp composing religious poetry. But he was not devoid of a strong temper, and he knew it. When he complained of the hot temper of his Scotch officers, he added, "but then

[1] *Rob. Monro: His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment call'd Mackey's*, London, 1637.



GRAVE OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, RIDDARHOLM CHURCH,
STOCKHOLM

they have to bear with me likewise." In broad humanity and tolerance he was centuries ahead of his time. But idealist as he was he made sure of his ground at every step and knew the skill and resources of his enemies.



SIGNATURE OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

CHAPTER XXVI

SWEDEN AS A GREAT POWER

A MASTER mind had fallen, but his spirit lived on in warriors and statesmen, trained under his eyes who continued his work. The ruler of Sweden till Christina, then six years old, came of age in 1644, for twelve years, 1632–44, was Axel Oxenstierna, a genius little inferior to the King himself. Though only eleven years older than Gustavus, his cool, calm prudence guided the fiery genius of his young master. "If my heat did not add warmth to your coldness, we should all freeze to death," said the King. "If my coldness did not cool Your Majesty's heat, Your Majesty would already be burnt to death," said Oxenstierna. This anecdote is characteristic of the intimate way in which the two great men worked together, each supplying the other's deficiencies. Oxenstierna had studied at German universities, and Charles IX, who discovered him, sent him on difficult diplomatic missions, and made him a State Councillor when he was only twenty-six years old. He was made the guardian of the royal children and the head of the regency which

was to govern till Gustavus came of age. Their lifelong friendship began early, and the first act of Gustavus on succeeding to the throne was to make Oxenstierna Chancellor. Gustavus once declared he would rather lay down the Crown than govern without Oxenstierna. Oxenstierna was appointed Legate Plenipotentiary in the Holy Roman Empire. The Estates, in July, 1634, gave a new Constitution to Sweden. A number of Departments of State (Kollegium) were established, subordinate to the Council and Crown. Administration was centralized and made more efficient. Chancellor Oxenstierna had to spend most of his time in Germany to keep attached to Sweden the German Protestant princes and direct Sweden's various armies. Till the assassination of Wallenstein, February, 1634, the war was conducted with little energy on both sides. On September 6, 1634, the Swedish main army was almost annihilated by General Gallas at Nördlingen.

Immediately the Protestant princes began to desert what they thought the sinking ship. Sweden made a twenty-six years' truce with Poland at Stuhmsdorf, September, 1635, to buy off one foe, and yielded the Prussian customs. Oxenstierna met Louis XIII and Richelieu, acquired enlarged subsidies from them, and appointed John Banér commander-in-chief; he soon re-established the Swedish nimbus of invincibility by a great victory at Wittstock over superior forces (October, 1636).

But he was soon enclosed on all sides by Imperial armies, each of which was superior to his. For four months he held them at bay in his entrenched camp at Torgau. His retreat back to Pomerania with fourteen thousand men, on his heels sixty thousand men, cutting him off at river-crossings, driving him into a corner, while he continually outwitted them, is one of the most wonderful marches in the annals of Sweden. This was in the summer of 1637; thereupon he acted on the defence in Pomerania for over a twelvemonth, and then marched south, defeated the Imperialists in Saxony in the spring of 1639, and took up his winter quarters in Bohemia. Meantime the French invaded South Germany, and, with French reinforcements, he invaded Bavaria and nearly captured the Emperor. He died on May 10, 1641, having worn himself out by his exertions. He was succeeded by Lennart Torstensson. He invaded Silesia, 1642, and re-established the military supremacy of Sweden by the victory of Breitenfeld, November 2, 1642, where the Imperialists lost ten thousand men. Next spring, 1643, he invaded Moravia, and was called back, when on his way to Vienna, to settle matters with Denmark.[1] Christina, after the Peace of Brömsebro, made him Count and granted him large estates.

Christina came of age on December 8, 1644, her eighteenth birthday, and was enthroned as Queen of Sweden. In face and in brilliant quali-

[1] See Denmark.

AXEL OXENSTIERNA, CHANCELLOR OF SWEDEN

ties of mind she resembled her father, though she was far more learned. She had had a masculine education and been instructed in politics by Oxenstierna. Her library was one of the finest in Europe, and there she used to discuss problems of philosophy for hours with Descartes starting at five in the morning. Scholars from all Europe flocked round her and were pensioned by her. Yet at the same time she was the most daring and tireless horsewoman and hunter in all Sweden. Her pride of intellect was such that she despised her own sex and thought marriage intolerable slavery. Her inordinate vanity caused her to be jealous of the great Oxenstierna.

The Thirty Years' War was conducted by fits and starts. Torstensson, after overrunning the Imperial Crown-lands, won a great victory over the Imperialist army at Jankovitz, near Prague, March 6, 1645, the general staff and the artillery falling into his hands. He captured the bridgehead on the Danube opposite Vienna, but his army was too small to take the city by assault. Rakoczy of Transylvania joined him with an army which brought the plague into his camp, whereupon Rakoczy made peace with the Emperor. Torstensson suffered so much from gout that in December, 1645, he resigned his command to Wrangel, who in 1646 joined Turenne, who had been campaigning in Bavaria. The mutual jealousy of the French and Swedish generals hindered and hampered their campaigns. Meanwhile an-

other Swedish army captured Prague, when the Codex Argenteus (the Gospels in Gothic) was sent to Uppsala University with other spoils of war. Soon after peace was concluded. The peace negotiations had begun in March, 1642, at Osnabrück, between Sweden and the Emperor, at Münster between France and the Emperor, to prevent quarrels about precedence between the negotiators. The congress did not actually begin till April, 1645. The Catholic negotiators resided at Münster, the Protestants at Osnabrück. Sweden was represented by Oxenstierna's son and by Salvius, who was supported by Christina, who wished to hurry the negotiations, while Oxenstierna wanted to protract them and hold out for better terms. The quarrel was bitter, not only between the two plenipotentiaries, but also between Queen and Chancellor. Finally on October 24, 1648, the Peace of Westphalia was signed simultaneously at the two cities. Sweden's share was: Upper Pomerania with the islands Rügen, Wollin, and Usedom and a strip of Lower Pomerania on the right bank of the Oder, including Stettin and certain other towns. The city of Wismar and districts near it. The secularized bishoprics of Bremen and Warden. Five million rixdollars. Full civil and religious liberty to be granted to all German Protestants. Sweden's German possessions were to be held as fiefs of the Empire, and Sweden therefore could vote on their behalf in the German Diet. Sweden and

France were to be joint guarantors of this peace and to carry out its provisions. Thus, though the territories won by Sweden after eighteen years of war were small in extent, yet she now held the mouths of the three greatest rivers in North Germany, the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser.

Charles X Gustavus (1656–60), son of the Count Palatine of Zweibrücken and Catherine, sister of Gustavus Adolphus, was born in 1622. He served as a volunteer under Torstensson, from whom he learnt the art of war. He was a suitor for the hand of Christina. She would not marry him, but appointed him commander-in-chief of her armies in Germany, shortly before the Peace of Westphalia, and as Swedish plenipotentiary at the executive congress which followed it, he became an expert in the tortuous ways of diplomacy. Christina, importuned by matrimonial projects, had him proclaimed as her successor in 1649, in spite of the opposition of the Council and Oxenstierna. Popular discontent with the Queen made his position as heir-presumptive precarious, and he isolated himself in the isle of Öland till Christina abdicated (June 6, 1654). The same day he was crowned King in the cathedral as Charles X Gustavus. He married a daughter of the Duke of Holstein Gottorp in order to have an ally against Denmark. Sweden was in dire financial distress owing to the reckless expenditure of Christina. The nobles were curbed by

1654

Charles, who at the parliament of 1655 proposed that a commission should hold an inquiry about the alienated Crown-lands and a war subsidy should be levied on all classes proportionately. A secret committee presided over by himself was won over by him in three days to the belief that a war with Poland was a necessity for Sweden. He sailed in July, 1655, with fifty thousand men and fifty warships. In a few weeks he had occupied Warsaw and the whole of Great Poland. Cracow, the Coronation city, fell after a siege of two months, valiantly defended by Czarniecki. King John Casimir lived as a fugitive in Silesia. Poland was conquered and blotted out from the map of Europe. Suddenly the tide turned. A Swedish army besieged the fortified monastery of Czenstochowa, October–December, 1655; it was defended for seventy days by seventy monks and 150 soldiers, and, through a miracle wrought by the Mother of God of Czenstochowa, as the Poles believed, the Swedes were driven off with heavy loss. The national and religious spirit of the Polish people burst into flame throughout the length and breadth of the land as they learnt of this wonder. King John Casimir returned from his exile early in 1656 and put the reorganized army under the command of Czarniecki. Charles first compelled the Elector of Brandenburg to become his ally, and then tried to subdue the Poles anew. It was a guerilla war with endless pursuits and marches over a vast territory in winter. He

CHARLES X

made a masterly retreat from Galicia to Warsaw with a few thousand men across marshes and rivers guarded by superior forces. Warsaw surrendered to the Poles, after its Swedish garrison was reduced from 4000 to 500. The joint forces of Charles and the Elector of Brandenburg, 18,000 men, defeated the Polish army numbering 100,000 men in a three days' battle at Warsaw (July 18, 19, 20, 1656) and reoccupied the city. But though Charles granted the Elector the full sovereignty over East Prussia—thus laying the foundation of the kingdom of Prussia—and allied himself with Rakoczy, Prince of Transylvania, yet their help was of little value and he made no headway. He could not break the spirit of the Poles, when suddenly Denmark's declaration of war against Sweden (June 1, 1657) extricated him from his difficulties. He could now leave Poland with honour. He marched with the lightning speed of Torstensson, at the head of eight thousand veterans, into Holstein. The Danish troops retreated and dispersed. The main army took refuge in the fortress, Frederiksodde (now Fredericia), on the Little Belt. The duchies and Jutland were now occupied by the Swedes, but at sea the Danes drove their fleet back into Wismar after a two days' battle. The Duke of Gottorp openly sided with the Swedes. In the night of October 23–24, Wrangel, at the head of four thousand Swedes, stormed Frederiksodde, which was defended by six thousand Danes, in

one hour and a half, taking more prisoners than his own men numbered, with stores and artillery. In January, 1658, the Emperor and the Elector of Brandenburg joined Poland against Sweden. Charles was prevented from crossing to the islands by the Danes who were masters at sea. Then the severe frost in December, 1657, and January, 1658, bridged the sea for him. The sea was covered with a solid bridge of ice, and the scouts who tested its firmness every night found it would bear save only a small rent five feet broad, which they bridged over by planks and hurdles. On January 30, 1658, it was calculated that the ice would be strong enough to carry the army. The Swedes made for the peninsula of Iversnaes, in Funen, via the island of Brandsö. They led their horses as far apart as possible where the ice was weak and galloped across the safe parts. Safety lay in rushing on since the danger behind was greater than in front. Two companies sank through the ice, fighting the Danes who barred their passage. The whole island of Funen was occupied by Charles, who wanted to march across the sixteen miles broad Great Belt. One night the daring Dahlberg came back from his journeys on the ice and declared he could take the army across it via Langeland, Laaland, and Falster, a more roundabout but safer route, with a shorter traject across ice than the direct route to Sjaelland. At a council of war summoned in the middle of the night all the assembled generals dissuaded

DAHLBERG

from running this extreme risk. Charles hesitated, but at last resolutely accepted Dahlberg's plan and explained: "Now we shall talk together in Swedish, brother Frederick!" The army started on the night of February 5th, and reached Laaland next afternoon. The men waded through deep sludge and the ice looked very rotten where cavalry had passed. Terlon, the French Ambassador with Charles, says: "It was a horror to walk at night across the frozen sea; the horses' tramping had thawed the snow so that the water rose one or two feet on the ice; every moment we feared to find the sea open somewhere to engulf us." Dahlberg showed the way. On February 8th Charles reached Falster, on February 11th Sjaelland. The elements had helped him to accomplish a deed of daring unique in history. "*Naturæ hoc debuit uni*" he inscribed on the medal struck to commemorate it. Frederick III sent plenipotentiaries to sue for peace at any price. They dared not accept the hard conditions of Charles, but at last signed the peace preliminaries at Taastrup, near Copenhagen.

By the terms of the Peace of Roskilde, February 26, 1658, Denmark ceded Scania, Halland, Blekinge, and Båhuslän—which have been Swedish ever since—the province of Trondhjem and the island of Bornholm. Hostile fleets were to be excluded from the Baltic. The Duke of Gottorp was to be free of Danish suzerainty. His title and estates were restored to Ulfeld, the traitor,

who was one of the peace commissioners. Subsequently the King of Denmark entertained the victor at a sumptuous banquet that lasted three days.

Charles convened the Estates and Council at Gothenburg to deliberate on the war in Germany and Poland. Denmark was unwilling to assist Sweden in preventing the entrance of a Dutch fleet into the Baltic. Charles repented that he had not annexed a country which was his secret enemy. He suddenly landed with an army in Sjaelland without declaring war. Holland now became openly his enemy. The patriotism of the Danes was roused. With the courage of despair the citizens of Copenhagen repaired their walls and prepared to defend themselves to the uttermost. Kronborg surrendered. In October a Dutch fleet approached to bring succour to the sorely pressed Danes. After six hours' obstinate contest the Swedish fleet, under Wrangel, who acted alternately as general and admiral, was compelled to retire to Landskrona. Copenhagen received the Dutch fleet with transports of joy. Charles encamped ten miles from the town, after raising the siege. An army of Poles, Austrians, and Brandenburgers occupied Jutland. Trondhjem and Bornholm freed themselves from their Swedish garrisons. When the winter frosts set in and ice rendered the fleet useless, Charles determined to storm the city. On the night of February 11, 1659, the Swedes, with white shirts

Expeditio Gloriosa
Potentis: Regi Svecorum
CAROLI GVSTAVI.
quia mare Balticum glacie constrictum tran-
siens cum Exercitu omnique bellico apparatu
Livoniam in Livlandiam et coteras insulas
Danicas penetravit. an. 7. februarii. Anno
1658

over their dress to prevent their being visible in the deep snow, scaled the slippery, icy ramparts. Their plans had been betrayed to the Danes, who hurled them back in a murderous struggle; women poured boiling water on the Swedes, who withdrew with a loss of 1500 men. In the spring of 1659 an English fleet under Montague arrived in the Baltic to watch the Dutch and enforce an armed mediation between the belligerents. Oliver Cromwell, and after him his son Richard, were friendly to Sweden. The Dutch and English ambassadors (one of them was Algernon Sidney) called on Charles in his camp, and he was very angry at the pretensions of the two republics to dictate terms. Montague was called back to take part in the Restoration (of Charles II) in England, and the Dutch transported the army of the Allies to Funen, where it defeated the Swedish troops at Nyborg, General Stenbock escaping in a boat. Charles did not lose courage, but convened the Estates at Gothenburg to obtain men and money for an invasion into Norway. During these preparations he was seized with a fever, and died at the age of thirty-seven, February 13, 1660. On his death-bed he appointed a regency for his four-year-old son, Charles (XI), and advised them to make peace with Sweden's enemies. Peace was concluded with Poland at Oliva, April, 1660; this ended a war of succession of sixty years between the Catholic and Protestant branches of the House of Vasa. John Casimir of Poland

renounced his claim to the Swedish crown, and ceded Livonia. The Treaty of Copenhagen with Denmark (June, 1660) confirmed the Peace of Roskilde, except that the province of Trondhjem and the isle of Bornholm were restored to the Danes. The Peace of Kardis put an end to the war with Russia, which restored her conquests. Sweden had reached her natural frontiers, and in half a century the conquered Danish provinces became denationalized and Swedish.

The Regency which governed Sweden (1660–75) was composed of conservative aristocrats, who neglected the administration of the country and were grossly corrupt. They accepted secret annual subsidies from foreign Powers for their support, always favouring the highest bidder. Charles XI came of age at seventeen in December, 1672. The Regents had utterly neglected his education, and he spent most of his time in manly sports, often in bear hunting. Louis XIV, by holding out hopes of increased subsidies, induced De la Gardie, the most important member of the regency, to send a Swedish army of thirteen thousand men against the Elector of Brandenburg. In June, 1575, the Elector defeated the Swedish army, reduced by sickness to seven thousand men, under the old field-marshal Wrangel, at Rathenow and at Fehrbellin. It is true these defeats by a superior force were only skirmishes, but the invincibility of Swedish troops ceased to be believed in. The criminal neglect of the Regency was

THE SWEDES STORM COPENHAGEN, FEBRUARY 11, 1659

seen by the young King, and a commission was appointed by his Coronation Parliament to inquire into their conduct.

Meanwhile the Emperor, Denmark, and the Netherlands declared war on Sweden, and the young King, not yet twenty, now showed his sterling qualities, working single-handed with his secretaries to save the country. The Swedish fleet, badly equipped as it was, was defeated off Öland on June 1, 1676, by the combined Dano-Dutch fleet. The Danish army, under Christian V, occupied Scania, whose inhabitants, still Danish in sympathies, raised a guerilla war against the Swedes. The first gleam of light was the annihilation of a Danish division of three thousand men in Halland by Charles himself. During the autumn of 1676 the Swedish army suffered much from hunger and cold, and dwindled to half its number. During the night of December 4, 1676, Charles raced the Danish army for the possession of a ridge of hills north of Lund. Victorious here he hurried back to help his left and centre, overpowered by the Danes, and turned the defeat into a brilliant victory. About one half of both the opposing armies lay dead on the battlefield after this obstinate engagement. Charles XI, who had fought at the head of his men ever since, kept the anniversary which gave him back Scania and restored to Sweden her nimbus of invincibility by shutting himself up in his closet in prayer. In 1677 the Swedish fleet was twice beaten by

the Danish naval hero, Nils Juel, who dominated the Baltic. Charles was successful in recovering Scania, while the German possessions of Sweden were wholly lost. Louis XIV, at the peace congress of Nimeguen (1677–79), dictated terms, and in 1679 forced the Elector of Brandenburg to retrocede all his conquests to Sweden except a small strip on the right bank of the Oder. Denmark, too, was compelled to restore all her conquests, first by the Peace of Fontainebleau, then at Lund. The negotiations were ended by a treaty of defensive alliance between Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. This was owing to the Swedish statesman, Johan Gyllenstierna, who also brought about the marriage of Charles XI to the Danish princess, Ulrica Leonora. Gyllenstierna died in 1680, and Charles XI proceeded to carry out his ideas—to save Sweden from becoming the needy satellite of Louis XIV, and to turn it into a centralized monarchy.

Parliament met in October, 1680, and one of its first acts was to decide that a commission nominated by the King should try the Regents. The Estate of Peasants then petitioned the King for the recovery of Crown-lands from the aristocracy. The Estates of Burgesses and of Clergy joined them, but the Estate of Nobles debated the motion without result until it was declared carried over their heads by their speaker. All countships, baronies, domains, and manors, producing an annual rent of more than £70, reverted to the Crown.

Next the Estates declared that the Council of State shared the guilt of the Regents; and, in answer to the King's inquiry, stated that he was not bound by the Constitution but only by the laws, was not bound to consult the Council, but was a sovereign lord, responsible to God alone for his actions. The King changed the title of the Council of State to Royal Council, implying that they were henceforth the King's servants, not his colleagues. Sweden did not become an absolute monarchy by force and fraud as Denmark in 1660, and the Estates continued to meet and to be consulted. The Parliament of 1682 declared that the King had the right to grant and take back fiefs, at his own will. The Estates also gave to him the right to interpret and amend the laws and statutes of the kingdom. Possessed of absolute power, Charles XI set himself to construct a new system on the ruins of the old. The Commission of State found the Regents and the Council guilty of extravagance and sentenced them to pay the Crown a huge sum. The commission for the recovery of Crown-lands was turned into a permanent department of State under the personal supervision of the King. The inquisition into claims was harsh and rigorous. Any owner of landed estates might be called upon to furnish proof that they had not at some time belonged to the Crown. Yet it was not till 1690 that Sweden could actually pay its way. Charles substituted an extended military tenure of land for conscrip-

tion and created a standing army of thirty-eight thousand men. He provided Sweden with a huge arsenal at Karlskrona and a fleet of forty-three men-of-war. All the departments of State were reconstructed and rendered more efficient. Foreign policy he left entirely in the hands of Count Oxenstierna, who supported Holland and England against the overweening ambition of Louis XIV. After the death of his Queen, Charles XI, broken by his incessant labours, began to fail in health, and died, forty years old, in 1697. He worked himself to death; travelling incognito, dressed in his grey cloak, he looked after the efficiency of his officials all over Sweden, in person.

CHAPTER XXVII

CHARLES XII

CHARLES XII was born on June 17, 1682. He had been most carefully educated and trained, mind and body. At eleven years old he shot his first bear, and he had a genius for languages and mathematics. His father took him everywhere and his character was deeply influenced by him. The Regents appointed by his father to rule during his minority governed Sweden only for seven months. In November, 1697, the Estates asked him to assume full sovereignty. He not only assented to this, but at his coronation he omitted the coronation oath and placed the crown on his head himself, as a mark of absolute autocracy. One of his first acts was to abolish judicial torture, against the advice of his Council. Meanwhile a Livonian nobleman, Patkul, had been secretly forming a league against Sweden. In the autumn of 1699 an offensive alliance for the partition and dismemberment of Sweden was concluded by Denmark, Saxony, and Russia. A Danish army advanced against the ally of Sweden, the Duke of Gottorp, and the Saxons and Russians invaded

Sweden's possessions on the Continent. The Danish fleet protected Sjaelland, but by passing through the eastern channel of the Sound, held to be unnavigable by sailors, Charles XII was able to unite his ships with an Anglo-Dutch squadron. Superior at sea to the Danish fleet, hemmed in at Copenhagen, he landed a few miles north of that city. Denmark, alarmed, made peace at Travendal, August 18, 1700, conceding full sovereignty to the Duke of Gottorp, paying him an indemnity and promising never henceforth to join the enemies of Sweden. In the autumn Tsar Peter laid siege to Narva in Ingria with 40,000 men. With less than 8000 men Charles hurried to its relief against the advice of his generals. During his long march through boggy and desolate country he captured a pass defended by 6000 horsemen with 400 Swedes. It was on November 20th that the tired Swedes immediately on their arrival threw themselves on the Russian entrenchments at 2 P.M. in a raging snowstorm. Peter had left the night before, leaving a foreigner in command. At night the camp was in the hands of the Swedes, whose prisoners far outnumbered themselves. This great victory spread the fame of Charles over Europe, but it inspired him with contempt of the Russians who would not make a stand and of Tsar Peter. He now cleared Livonia and Courland of the enemy, and in 1702 deposed the Elector of Saxony from the Polish throne, defeated the united Poles and Saxons at Klissow,

CHARLES XII

By Wedekind

and captured the fortified coronation city, Cracow, with only a cane in his hand, by sheer audacity. In 1704 the Elector was formally deposed and a scratch assembly, manipulated by Count Arvid Horn, elected Stanislaus Leszcynski, the Palatine of Posen, King of Poland. After many vicissitudes he was crowned in 1705, but the Swedes were fighting all the time to uphold his unstable throne. Charles entered Saxony in August, 1706, about the time of a crisis in the War of the Spanish Succession. Marlborough was sent by the Allies to find out if Charles was likely to join France, but found that he was going to invade Russia. The Elector of Saxony was compelled to sign the Peace of Altranstädt; he resigned the Polish Crown, renounced every anti-Swedish alliance, and handed over Patkul, the arch-conspirator, who was quartered alive. Charles stayed a whole year in Saxony, partly owing to a quarrel with the Emperor, who oppressed the Protestants of Silesia, whose religious liberty was guaranteed in the Treaty of Osnabrück. Charles demanded redress so peremptorily that the Allies induced the Emperor to yield all his demands, fearing he might go to war on the side of France.

In August, 1707, he left Saxony. It was high time, for Russia had with overwhelming odds overrun Ingria and Livonia, and Tsar Peter had laid the foundations of Petersburg. During the winter of 1707–8 he advanced on frozen roads towards Moscow, and in July he attacked the

Russians, strongly entrenched behind a river, and won the battle of Holowczyn, his last victory won in the field. Peter's plan was steadily to hide all corn and cattle in the trackless waste, to burn and destroy everything that could be useful to the invader. It was clear that Moscow could not be reached, and his generals advised Charles to await Lewenhaupt with reinforcements and stores, but he marched southwards to join the Hetman of the Dnieper Cossacks, Mazeppa, who had promised him one hundred thousand horsemen and large stores of provisions. Now one disaster succeeded another. Lewenhaupt joined Charles empty-handed, having been defeated in a two days' battle against fourfold odds at Lesna, where he lost all his stores. Mazeppa joined him as a fugitive with thirteen hundred attendants. The Cossack capital and country had been turned into a charred wilderness by the Tsar. Now the elements joined the Russians in fighting the invincible Swedes, engulfed in a trackless wilderness. The winter of 1708–9 was the coldest known for a century. Already by November firewood would not burn in the open, and the Swedes warmed themselves over fires of straw. But the worst was to overtake the devoted and dwindling host in the exposed, endless steppes of Ukraine. In January, 1709, wine and spirits froze, birds on the wing fell dead, and many soldiers lost hands, feet, ears, noses. Yet "though earth, sky, and air were against us," they followed

blindly their leader, whom they looked on as divinely inspired. He twice defeated tenfold odds of Russians with a few hundred men, and single-handed upheld the spirit of his men, who were on the point of succumbing to their terrible hardships. His army was reduced to less than one half, or nearly twenty thousand men, when the spring floods made it impossible to march farther for two or three months. In May, 1709, he began to lay siege to the fortress of Poltava, but lack of gunpowder hampered operations. Peter with eighty thousand Russians lay on the other side of the River Vorskla, but dared not cross it until he heard that Charles had been wounded in the foot by a bullet, when he entrenched himself on the Swedish side of the river. At a council of war Charles decided to attack the Russian entrenchments on June 27, 1709, Rehnsköld taking the command because of his wound, while Charles was borne on a litter in the hottest *mêlée*. The Swedes carried everything before them on both wings, but owing to a misunderstanding the flower of the army, the Guards, were annihilated by the French guns of the Tsar, which could fire five times to the Swedes' once. Lacking powder, the Swedes were mown down as they tried to come to close quarters. Charles with fifteen hundred men escaped to Turkish territory, while fourteen thousand men, exhausted and starved, surrendered at Perevoloczna on the Dnieper.

On learning of the disaster at Poltava, the

Elector of Saxony formed a new alliance with Denmark in order to confine Sweden within her boundaries, and the Poles rose against Leszcynski, who fled to Swedish Pomerania. The Danes invaded Scania in November, 1709, but Count Magnus Stenbock with hastily collected peasant levies defeated the Danes in the battle of Helsingborg, March 10, 1710, and drove their army out of Scania. Meanwhile the Tsar took the Swedish possessions on the Eastern Baltic foot by foot, invaded Finland, and seized Viborg. He demanded the extradition of Charles from the Sultan, who held him in high honour. Swedes and Russians vied with each other to bribe the Grand Vizier till Peter declared war, March, 1710. He ventured too far south, and was surrounded with 38,000 men in July, 1710, by 190,000 Turks on the banks of the Pruth. The Grand Vizier who followed a plan of campaign drawn up by Charles, allowed Peter to make the Peace of Pruth, July 22, 1710. Peter was to allow the King of Sweden a free passage to his dominions, evacuate Poland, and demolish two fortresses. Charles stayed on, and induced the Sultan to declare war on Russia in 1711 and in 1712, with little result. The Turks now wanted to get rid of Charles, and ten thousand men attacked him with his few hundred men in his camp at Bender, and after an incredible resistance took him prisoner by burning the house over his head. Still he stayed on, waiting for an escort to take him back, until in response to

despairing appeals from Sweden he left on September 20, 1714. Riding on horseback day and night, without changing his clothes, he arrived at midnight, November 22, 1714, at Stralsund; his top-boots, which had not been removed for sixteen days, had to be cut off his legs. Inspired and animated by his example, soldiers and citizens held out for more than a twelvemonth against overwhelming forces of the Danes, Prussians, Saxons, and Russians in superhuman endeavour, until Stralsund was a heap of ruins. Just before Christmas, 1715, Charles escaped in a small boat past the batteries and fleets of the Allies to Sweden, whereupon the town surrendered. The Elector of Hanover had in the autumn of 1714 ascended the throne of England as George I, and he did not scruple to buy from Denmark the Swedish bishoprics of Bremen and Werden, which she had occupied, for six hundred thousand rixdollars. Sweden was to be dismembered by a league between England, Hanover, Prussia, Saxony, Denmark, and Russia. Tsar Peter arrived at Copenhagen with thirty thousand Russians in July, 1716, in order to invade Scania with his Danish ally, under cover of the Danish, Russian, and English fleets. The lion was at bay, with twenty thousand men in his entrenched camp in Scania, and neither Danes nor Russians were anxious to beard him in his den. Long delays in attacking him led to mutual suspicions. Russians and Danes suspected each other of a secret under-

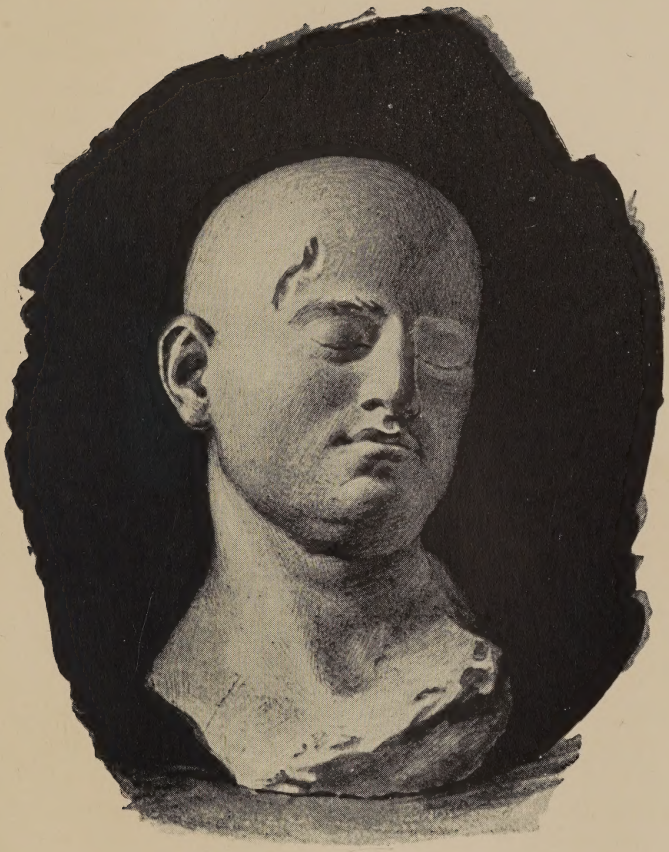
standing with Charles. The Tsar postponed the expedition, and Denmark was much pleased to get rid of its troublesome guests. George I, on the other hand, saw in it Muscovite designs on North Germany, and both he and the Tsar tried to circumvent each other by making separate terms with Sweden.

Charles had now in his service the astute and audacious Baron Goertz, a former minister of the Duke of Holstein Gottorp. He believed with his master that though the battle was lost there was time to win a new one, in spite of the exhaustion of Sweden, and he skilfully played on the mutual distrust of England and Russia. In January, 1717, the Swedish Ambassador in London, Count Gyllenborg, was arrested; from correspondence seized (now included in the Stuart papers in Windsor Castle) it appeared that the Jacobites had arranged with Goertz that Charles should invade England "to maintain English liberties and reduce George (I) to be nothing more than an Elector of Hanover." The Swedish Ambassador in Paris was one of the conspirators. Goertz, who conducted negotiations at The Hague, received sums of sixty thousand and one hundred thousand francs from the Pretender; "ten thousand men would do the business" in the spring, 1717. The expedition was to sail from Gothenburg and on landing at fixed places in Scotland and England was to be joined by leading noblemen in the Army and the Church with their adher-

ents. The Pretender was to come to clinch the matter, but Charles was not privy to any plan of invasion, and disavowed the machinations of Goertz, when he knew them. Goertz was arrested in Holland and kept in custody for a time while Gyllenborg was in custody from January 29, to August, 1717, when he was exchanged for Jackson, the English Resident at Stockholm. Byng was to blockade Gothenburg in April, 1717, to prevent the expedition from sailing, but Charles was busy with other plans.

He invaded Norway in 1717, and in 1718, in order to recover part of his lost German dominions in exchange for territory occupied in Norway, Goertz strained Sweden to the breaking-point. Every able-bodied man was taken for the Army, and the country was inundated by paper-money and copper coinage; forced loans and other extreme measures were resorted to. Meanwhile Goertz began negotiations with Russia in the Åland Islands in May, 1718. The Russians soon found that Goertz dared not let Charles or the Swedish people know the Russian conditions. Charles was besieging Frederikshald in Norway. He had captured one fort and was in the approaches to another fort, Frederiksten. As usual he exposed himself recklessly on his daily inspections. On December 11, 1718, as he was looking over the parapet of a trench a cannon-shot struck him and passed through both temples. He was found standing erect, having gripped his sword in the

moment of death. A monument has been raised on the spot where his life was ended. The British Secretary of State, Craggs, writes to Lord Stair, on December 29, 1718, on hearing of the death of Charles: "The death of the King of Sweden is a plain declaration that our Cause is a just one, since God has so visibly espoused it." Great was the impression made in Europe by the death of the hero at the age of thirty-six years. He had all the virtues and vices of the viking temperament, and indeed had the sagas read aloud to himself in his camp. His keen sense of honour and his belief in ultimate victory of right and justice lay at the root of his obstinacy. He possessed intellectual abilities of the highest order. He would have done still greater marvels with his Ironsides and founded an empire instead of losing one, if he had lived seven centuries earlier. Sweden broke off negotiations with Russia and concluded peace of Stockholm with England-Hanover, to which she ceded Bremen and Werden, and with Prussia to which she ceded Stettin with some territories. Denmark too, by the Peace of Frederiksborg retroceded all her conquests for 600,000 rixdollars, but Sweden was to give up her alliance with Holstein-Gottorp and her exemption from Sound dues. Sweden had hoped that the British fleet in the Baltic would assist her against Russia, but it stood by inactive during repeated Russian raids on the Swedish coast; five towns, hundreds of villages and farms, and millions worth of property were



DEATH MASK OF CHARLES XII

burnt and destroyed. Bowing to the inevitable, Sweden concluded peace at Nystad, August 30, 1721; she ceded her Baltic provinces, Ingria, Livonia, and Esthonia, and of Finland Carelia with Viborg for 2,000,000 thaler, free trade in the Baltic and a non-interference in her internal affairs; the rest of Finland was retroceded to Sweden. The bullet that killed "the Lion of the North" killed autocracy in Sweden. The Swedish people had suffered grievously during his reign, which was one long campaign. The first victim of the long pent-up passions now set free was Baron Goertz, the astute diplomatist, who for three years had upheld his master's crumbling empire. He was arrested the day after the death of Charles XII. "The King's death is my death," he exclaimed; he had only verbal orders from him for the extreme and unpopular measures he had taken. Sentenced on February 11th, he was beheaded under the gallows on March 2, 1719.

CHAPTER XXVIII

PARLIAMENTARISM FREE AND UNFETTERED

Ulrica Leonora, the sister of Charles XII, abdicated at the beginning of 1720 in favour of her husband, Frederick of Hesse, who was elected King as Frederick I (1720–51). At the same time a new Constitution deprived the King of every vestige of power. He could not even appoint members of the State Council, but had to appoint one of the three pointed out to him; he presided at its meetings, but had only a casting vote. The four Estates were like four separate parliaments, but the House of Nobles held the reins of government through the Secret Committee, in which they always had a majority against the other Estates. The Speaker of the House of Nobles presided in this Committee which, during the session, held the executive, legislative, and judicial power of the State in his hands. Tenure of office by ministers depended on its will; it directed the foreign policy of Sweden, and prepared all bills and acted, also, as a kind of court of appeal from all courts in the country. No peasants were, as a rule, members of this Committee. Thus in reality the supreme

power was held by the House of Nobles, which was composed of the heads of the noble families; many of the poorer sold their proxies to the highest bidder, and thus their right to sit in the House of Nobles was a regular source of income to them.

Count Arvid Horn was the prudent and cautious ruler of Sweden during the nearly twenty years of peace that followed the Great Northern War. His policy was to avoid war almost at any cost, and to develop the resources of the country in peace; his ideal was England, English industries, and English institutions. He held aloof from France. Soon a party arose in the House of Nobles which ridiculed the timid and inglorious pursuit of peace by Horn and his men, and nicknamed them "Night Caps," or "Caps," while they took the name "Hats" themselves as men who were proud to restore Sweden to her pristine glory as a Great Power. They were the allies of France which provided them with subsidies. They were the enemies of Russia. These party names, "Caps" and "Hats" were generally used till the revolution of 1772.

In the session of 1738 the Hats, under the leadership of Count Tessin, dominated the Secret Committee and consequently foreign policy; Count Horn resigned. He was an honest and God-fearing man, under whose wise and fostering rule Swedish industries prospered and the wounds of the war were healed. The Hats came into power through wholesale bribery with French gold and through superior organization. They openly

avowed their desire to recover the provinces ceded to Russia. The deaths of the Emperor Charles VI and of the Empress Anne of Russia seemed to give them a favourable juncture. The assassination of a Swedish envoy, Major Sinclair, on his way with dispatches from Constantinople to Stockholm, by Russians, gave the Hats a pretext for declaring war, 1741. The Speaker of the House of Nobles, Lewenhaupt, commanded the army in Finland which was unready and ill-provided; the officers were politicians who were sometimes absent in Stockholm. The Russians captured General Wrangel and the frontier fortress Villmanstrand, and when Lewenhaupt crossed the frontier, he soon withdrew, according to secret communications with Elizabeth, who became Empress through a Court revolution. After the expiry of a truce the demoralized Swedish army retreated from position after position till by the Convention of Helsingfors, 1742, it evacuated Finland. The old martial spirit was sadly lacking. The Empress Elizabeth, to prevent the election of the Prince Royal of Denmark as Heir to the Swedish throne, consented to restore Finland on condition that Duke Adolphus Frederick of Holstein Gottorp should be elected by the Estates as Crown Prince of Sweden. By the Treaty of Åbo, 1743, Finland was restored to Sweden with the exception of the territory east of Kymmene River. The Duke was duly elected, but the discontented peasantry were not pacified by the trial of two of the generals who

had brought dishonour on the Swedish arms in Finland; thousands of armed Dalecarlians, adherents of the Danish prince, marched on Stockholm and encamped in the central square of the town. After all other means had been tried the troops engaged them, and a number were killed and the rest pardoned. Two of the generals responsible for the misfortunes of the war were then tried and executed. The Empress Elizabeth was willing to restore Finland if her cousin, Adolphus Frederick of Holstein, was elected Heir to the Swedish throne by the Estates. Queen Ulrica Eleonora had died childless, and King Frederick was old and infirm. The Hats were glad to agree to any terms, and in the Peace of Åbo, May, 1743, Finland was retroceded with the exception of a district east of Kymmene River.

Adolphus Frederick, a nonentity like his predecessor, was married to Louise Ulrica, sister of Fredrick the Great, an ambitious and gifted woman whose French sympathies made her incline to the Hats. Their leader, Count Tessin, was her friend, philosopher, and guide until he arranged a betrothal between her infant son, Gustavus, and a Danish princess to counter-check the Russo-Danish alliance and the pro-Russian Caps. In this he acted directly against the wishes of the King and Queen. On the death of Frederick I, 1751, Adolphus Frederick succeeded to the throne. The Estates and Council were determined to show for how little royalty counted in a state which was an

oligarchic republic in all but the name. A name-stamp, with his signature, was made, to be used by the Council in case he should be recalcitrant or refuse to sign anything submitted to him. All State appointments were made by the Council, even those of members of the royal household. The tutors engaged for the royal children by their parents were sent away and their places taken by Hat partisans. The Queen formed a Court party and planned a revolution against this to her intolerable tyranny (1756), but the conspiracy was discovered prematurely and the noblemen who assisted her were executed for high treason or fled the country. The Queen was admonished, and the Speakers of all the Estates handed the King an instruction which he was to hand to the new tutor of the Crown Prince. The whole duty of the King of Sweden was there set forth, that he must not think he is more than any other man because the State, for its own sake, invests him with splendour, that in a free state he is a mere figure-head that is tolerated, and other humiliating remarks which His Majesty had to pocket.

Linnæus (Carl von Linné) (1707–78), the great botanist, taught at Uppsala University in this reign. His collections, books, and MSS. are in the Linnean Society in London. Swedenborg (1688–1772), scientist and mystic, anticipated many of the results of modern research.

Sweden was dragged into the Seven Years' War in the orbit of France. After a series of inglorious

campaigns in Pomerania (1756–62), the Hats made peace on the *status quo ante bellum* (1762). Their recklessly wasteful government came to an end in 1765, when the Caps came in on a retrenchment program and reduced the National Debt. They introduced freedom of the Press. But, peaceful as they were, they were closely allied with Russia and depended on Russian subsidies. Catherine II intended that Sweden should share the fate of Poland, and secretly leagued herself with Denmark and Prussia to guarantee and support its free Constitution as the means best adapted for its future partition.

Discontent with the parsimony and retrenchment of the Caps was rife, and the Council decreed that criticism of the Estates should be punished with fines and imprisonment. The King urged the Council to summon the Estates to adopt measures of relief. When they refused he formally abdicated, forbidding the Council to make use of his name. For six days, December 15 to 21, 1768, Sweden had no Government. The public officials sympathized with the King and refused to obey the orders of the Council with the royal name-stamp; the Treasury refused to pay out money and the colonel of the Guards declared he could no longer keep his troops in hand. The Council then yielded and summoned the Estates for April, 1769. Norrköping was to be its meeting-place because there the Russian fleet could overawe the deputies; the Russian Ambassador supplied the Caps with

money enough to bribe all waverers. The French Ambassador supplied the Hats with 6,000,000 francs in return for a written undertaking to reform the Constitution into a real monarchy. The elections gave the Hats a majority in all the Estates, and the Hats took the place of the Caps in the Council. The Estates moved to Stockholm and closed their ten months' session without the reform of the Constitution promised.

CHAPTER XXIX

GUSTAVUS III

CROWN PRINCE GUSTAVUS was in Paris when his father died, February, 1771. France promised him a subsidy of 1,500,000 francs a year. He had fascinated everybody by his brilliant qualities. French was to him a second mother-tongue. With his graceful wit, his charm of manner, his passion for dramatic display, he transplanted these master qualities of the French spirit to Swedish soil. He was only twenty-five when he went back to Sweden, June, 1771, in order to save his country from being a second Poland, the victim of factions corrupted by foreign gold. He was welcomed with enthusiasm. He opened Parliament with a speech whose eloquence reached the high-water mark of Swedish oratory. He held it the greatest honour to be the first citizen of a free people, and urged them to sacrifice party animosities to the common welfare. Through his endeavours a composition committee was formed to divide the spoils of office between Hats and Caps and deal with them firmly and squarely. But the Caps had things their own way, and Gustavus was compelled to borrow more

than 3,000,000 crowns to procure the election of a Hat as Speaker of the House of Nobles by means of bribery. Catherine II, however, spent a large sum to give the Caps, the Patriots as she called them, a majority in the Secret Committee. The Coronation Oath (Royal Assurance) drafted by them contained new clauses, binding the King to reign uninterruptedly (to make abdication impossible), to abide by the decision of the majority of the Estates—to enable the three lower Estates to prevail against the House of Nobles, and to be guided solely by merit in making appointments—thus abolishing a privilege of the Nobles. After endless debates and discussions, the House of Nobles agreed to the new Coronation Oath in February, 1772, and the King, weary and disgusted, appended his signature to this perpetuation of the anarchy which was upheld by Russian bribery until the moment came to pounce on her prey.

As he was revolving schemes of revolution in his mind he was approached, first by Colonel Magnus Sprengtporten, a nobleman from Finland, and then by J. C. Toll, a ranger from Scania, men of equal ability and audacity, enemies of the Caps. Sprengtporten proposed to seize Sveaborg and sail with the royalists of Finland to compel the Estates by force to accept the King's conditions; Toll to seize the fortress of Kristianstad in Scania when Charles, the King's brother, was to pretend to crush the revolt with a southern army, but in reality was to join Toll and march upon Stockholm

to attack the Estates simultaneously with Sprengtporten. This plot developed. Toll won over the officers of the Kristianstad garrison by sheer bluff; Sprengtporten did the same at Sveaborg, but head winds prevented him from sailing for over a week. The English Ambassador communicated news of the plot to the Council, and their Commissioner in Scania arrived in Stockholm on August 16th with the story of the revolt at Kristianstad. The Council at their meeting were in favour of arresting the King, and only refrained till they had proofs of his guilt. The courier from Prince Charles with the official news of the revolt for the Council brought a secret letter sewn into his saddle for his brother, the King. Alone in the midst of his enemies, hundreds of miles from his fellow-conspirators, Gustavus resolved to strike the blow himself. He had already won over the cavalry patrols in the streets by his personal charm. On August 18th he sent secret orders to all royalist officers in Stockholm to meet him at ten next morning in Arsenal Square. He stayed up all night sorting papers; he drew up an order for the arrest of the Council; he copied his draft of the new Constitution on vellum, and wrote a letter to his brother not to avenge his death if he were killed. At 6 A. M., he received the sacrament from his chaplain, who took his private papers in a casket to the Spanish Ambassador. He communicated the news of the *coup d'état* to the corps diplomatique on the back of a ten-dollar

note. At 10 A. M., August 19th, he was on horseback at Arsenal Square and about two hundred officers joined him. After the parade the King said in a loud voice: "As all these gentlemen return on foot I may as well do so, too." This was the prearranged signal for the revolution which was not to take place that day, if the King mounted his horse again. The officers accompanied him to the Guards' Room where, in a glowing speech, he won over the Guards. "If you will follow me as your forefathers followed Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus I will venture my life-blood for the safety and honour of my country." While he sent an officer with thirty Guards to arrest the State Council, who were holding a meeting in the Palace and were tamely locked in, he dictated a new oath of allegiance to men and officers in the Guards' Room, binding them not to obey the Estates but only their lawful King, Gustavus III, and to defend him and the new Constitution he would give them. The Governor of Stockholm was arrested. The members of the Secret Committee fled. Gustavus occupied the Arsenal, and at the artillery yard he tied a white handkerchief round his left arm as a royalist badge which he asked his friends to adopt. Instantly the whole population of Stockholm fluttered the white handkerchief. Making a complete tour of the city Gustavus was hailed as a deliverer by huge crowds everywhere. A bloodless revolution had made him master of Sweden in a few hours. The city

GUSTAVUS III

gates were closed and strong guards were posted at night. The Russian Ambassador tried in vain to foment a counter revolution.

On August 20th, heralds proclaimed throughout the city that the Estates were to assemble at 4 P. M. next day, and that every absent deputy would be counted an enemy of his king and country. On the 21st the Life Guards were drawn up on both sides of the main street. The Hall of the Estates was surrounded by artillery, the men standing by their guns with lighted matches. Instead of the usual State procession headed by the four Speakers with their maces before them, the frightened deputies sneaked one by one to their places, running the gauntlet of rows of bayonets. Whereupon the King, crown on head and sceptre in hand, took his seat on the throne and delivered what is considered by many to be the greatest masterpiece of Swedish oratory. Not since 1527, at Vesterås from Gustavus Vasa, had a Swedish Parliament listened to such language from the throne. "Liberty has been transformed into aristocratic tyranny. Parties are united only in mangling and dishonouring their common fatherland. The majority is above the law and owns no restraint. Rid yourselves of fetters of foreign gold and domestic discord. If honour is dead in your hearts, my blushes ought to make you feel into what contempt the kingdom has been thrown by you. If there be any here present who can deny the truth of what I have said, let him stand up!" In their hearts they

knew, every man of them, that these stinging reproaches were well deserved. Thereupon he had the new Constitution read out to the dumbfounded deputies and, without granting them one minute for deliberating on it, demanded if they would solemnly bind themselves to keep it. They answered in the affirmative, unanimously, repeating their "yes" three times. The Constitution was signed by the Speakers. The King signed his new Coronation Oath. Thereupon he laid aside his crown, drew a psalm-book from his pocket and made a sign for all to join in chanting a Te Deum to thank God for knitting together again the old ties between King and people. In a few hours a weak and faction-ridden republic, the prospective prey of its neighbours, had been changed into a strong, constitutional monarchy. No harsh measures of any kind were adopted. The captive State Councillors were treated more like guests than prisoners in the Palace, and all kissed his hand on their release. A proclamation forbade the use of those odious and abominable names, Hats and Caps, which had "smitten Sweden with the worst abuses ever known in a Christian country."

The new Constitution restored the ancient monarchy in Sweden, in abeyance during the Age of Freedom or Anarchy, 1720–72. The Crown alone could call together and dissolve the Estates, and they could only debate measures and proposals laid before them by the King. The Crown

again became the depository of honours and appointments, of foreign affairs and of the supreme command of the Army and Navy. The right of appointing and dismissing State Councillors and the four Speakers was taken from the Estates and again became a royal prerogative. But large powers were still left with the Estates. Their consent was necessary for an offensive war and for war subsidies; they retained the power of taxation in their hands and controlled all expenditure. But the State Council became wholly dependent on, and responsible to, the King. Judges were made immovable to prevent the miscarriage of justice owing to party interest. But the mutual limits of the powers possessed by Crown and Parliament were vague and ill-defined. Catherine II was furious at the escape of the Swedish prey from her clutches, but refrained from a war to restore the old Constitution; her hands were full with the partitioning of Poland and with the Turkish war, but she renewed her secret alliance with Denmark, to intervene when the time came to undo the Swedish revolution.

The period 1772–86 is filled with liberal and much-needed reforms, in most of which the King is the prime mover and spirit. Judicial torture is abolished, freedom of the Press introduced, the currency regulated, the administration of justice reformed, the national defences pulled out of the slough of despond into which they had sunk. Maladministration of justice was so rife that the

King prosecuted one of the Supreme Courts of Sweden before the State Council and presided himself at the trial; more than one half of its judges were found guilty and disbenched. Abuses in the Army, which was honeycombed with politics, were sternly repressed. Toll was the guiding spirit in reforming the Army. A new Navy was rapidly built by an Englishman in the Swedish naval service, and huge docks were built at Karlskrona. Ehrensvärd built the impregnable fortress of Sveaborg on the coast of Finland outside Helsingfors; it could easily hold in its harbour the large galley flotilla which was to defend the rock and islet-studded coast of Finland against Russia. In every department of State sweeping reforms were carried out by able men chosen by the King.

He called the Estates together in 1778 and rendered account of the great work done. There was no room for anything but admiration and approval of the monarch, who fascinated everyone who came under his personal influence. Still they sorely missed the francs and roubles which used to be doled out so liberally. The vote of a member had a market value which in critical times could reach a large sum. Now their gracious and gentle master wore an iron hand in a velvet glove. Their power had departed from them to him. The Estates were summoned again in 1786. By that time the disaffected nobility had succeeded in fomenting discontent in the country. The presentation to ecclesiastical benefices for money and gifts, inter-

ference with private distillation of spirits and attempts to make it a Government monopoly, the increase in taxation and other reasons contributed to make the Estates so refractory that they threw out the royal bills or mutilated them so as not to be acceptable. They were curtly dismissed by the King. He now no longer relied on the Estates but on the co-operation of selected men, brilliantly gifted, ruthless royalists, ready to carry out his designs, constitutional or not. Gustavus strained every nerve to prepare for the final reckoning with Russia. Catherine II had secretly leagued herself with Denmark to intervene to restore the republican Swedish Constitution of 1720. He seized the opportunity when she was at war with Turkey. In the spring of 1788 he demanded an explanation of the Russian military preparations in Finland. Catherine returned a meek and reassuring answer. As he could not begin an offensive war without the consent of the Estates, he got the Council to approve his action by telling them that Russia was on the point of invading Finland with a large army—which was not true. He sailed for Finland with a large and well-equipped army at midsummer, 1788. At the same time in a letter to Catherine he demanded the cession of Carelia and Livonia to Sweden, of the Crimea to Turkey, and the instant disbanding of the Russian troops. Consternation and anger reigned in Petersburg. Catherine prepared to defend herself against this "madman" and punish

his insolence. Petersburg was saved by a mutiny in the Swedish army. The Swedish officers of the nobility, "citizens first and soldiers afterwards," were dead against an "unconstitutional" war, and joining hands with Finnish troops they had won over they forced the King to march back across the frontier. Whereupon the mutineers wrote to Catherine II that this war had been begun for none, or insufficient, reasons, that Swedish and Russian Finland joined in one independent Finland would be the best guarantee of a lasting peace, and that Her Majesty's gracious and early reply would determine whether they, the true spokesmen of the Swedish people, would discontinue the war or not. In answer Catherine, without committing herself to anything, praised the patriotism of the Finnish people and vaguely promised that their representatives should meet to deliberate on the future status of Finland, under the protection of Russia. At Anjala the leaders of the rebels drew up a declaration addressed to the King, protesting against this unconstitutional war which it was their duty to the nation to bring to an end. Gustavus was forced to be a passive spectator of these treasonable proceedings, on board his yacht on the Kymmene River. At the news of a Danish invasion of Sweden he exclaimed: "We are saved!" He could now depart to rally his people in the hour of danger, without seeming to desert the Army. As he embarked the Anjala Declaration was handed to him; he returned it unopened, with the words:

"I do not treat with rebels." He hastened to Dalecarlia and appealed to the sturdy peasantry who so often of yore had saved Sweden. Thousands of volunteers flocked to his standard. Meanwhile a Danish army was advancing from the Norwegian border on Gothenburg, then the greatest commercial city of Sweden, which was in a panic and prepared to surrender. Suddenly at midnight on September 25th, Gustavus, having riden 250 miles on horseback in forty-eight hours, appeared alone at the city gates. As by magic he put the city in a state of defence and raised volunteers, while reinforcements of Dalecarlians arrived hour by hour, so that all thoughts of surrender vanished. Hugh Elliot, the British Ambassador in Copenhagen, intervened so energetically in the Danish camp that the Danish troops evacuated Sweden, in November, 1788. Gustavus convoked the Estates in 1789. The three lower Estates were filled with admiration at the patriotic courage of the King, while about three fourths of the 950 nobles who sat in the House of Nobles were Anjala men, self-styled patriots, who defended the mutiny. A whole literature of ballads and pamphlets sprung up contrasting the cowardice and treason of the noble officers with the patriotism of the non-noble classes. Met with obstruction in the granting of supplies by the nobles at the outset, the King laid before the Estates an Act of Union and Security which amended the Constitution and gave the King the full

control of peace and war and of foreign affairs. After arresting twenty-one of the leading men among the Anjala nobles on February 16th, he introduced in person the new Constitution to the Estates assembled in Congress on February 17th. In response to his question, thrice repeated, whether the Estates accepted it the loud ayes of the lower Estates drowned the noes of the nobles, and the Act was passed over their heads. The grant of supplies for the war required the consent of all four Estates; the three lower Estates readily agreed, but in the House of Nobles the King took his seat in the Speaker's chair, made a fervid appeal to the House, put the question and declared it carried in spite of overwhelming opposition. By this high-handed proceeding, at the danger of his life, he earned the undying hatred of his nobles. The abolition of the Council or Senate in May, 1789, and the arrest of the leaders of the Anjala conspiracy followed.

In the summer of 1789 the Russians were defeated in no less than three pitched battles in Finland. At sea, though the fighting was indecisive, the victory also inclined to the Swedish side. In 1790 Gustavus planned a simultaneous attack on Petersburg by land and sea. His brother, Duke Charles, advanced as far as Cronstadt with his fleet, and the thunder of the Swedish guns was audible to Catherine, who spent sleepless nights in her palace. But the Swedes ventured too far into the land-locked waters of Viborg, and

after being hemmed in by overwhelming forces for some weeks, made a desperate effort to escape through a narrow channel where they had to run the gauntlet of the enemy's fire. They escaped with the loss of ten men-of-war and many galleys. This was the battle of the Viborg Gauntlet, July 3, 1790. About a week later in Svensksund, Gustavus gained the greatest naval victory recorded in the history of Sweden. The Russians lost fifty-five ships captured, a number were destroyed, and their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was nearly 14,000. Sidney Smith fought with the Swedes. Peace was concluded on August 14, 1790, at Värälä, on the Kymmene River. Conquests and prisoners were mutually restored, but the *status quo* was agreed to on the understanding that Russia would hereafter abstain from intervention in the internal affairs of Sweden. Gustavus now bent all his energies to form a league of European princes to join in a monarchical crusade against revolutionary France. He formed an alliance with Catherine for this purpose. He was to land in Normandy with a Russo-Swedish army and march on Paris. He called the Estates together at Gefle, and carried everything with his impetuous eloquence. During its session aristocratic conspirators waited in vain for an opportunity to assassinate him. He was shot in the back with a pistol at a masquerade in the Opera House at Stockholm, about midnight on March 16, 1792. He lingered for twelve days,

and begged that the authors of the crime should not be punished, and hoped that his death would reconcile all parties. He was an active and eager patron of literature, science, and art. His dramas from Swedish history have literary merit. His inaugural orations on various occasions touched the high-water mark of Swedish oratory.

CHAPTER XXX

GUSTAVUS IV—THE LOSS OF FINLAND

His assassin, Anckarström, was whipped through the capital and pilloried in irons for three days; his right hand was cut off and he was beheaded, drawn, and quartered. But the equally guilty aristocratic regicides were merely sent out of the country. This was owing to the influence of Reuterholm who was the ruler of Sweden during the regency of Duke Charles, 1792–96. He was a disciple of Rousseau; he removed all the brilliant monarchists who had formed the Gustavian Court. He was on friendly terms with the French Republic even after the execution of Louis XVI; the Republic was officially recognized by Sweden, which accepted subsidies from France and flouted the opinion of Europe. The Gustavian monarchists conspired against a régime which seemed to be dangerous for the very existence of the throne; Russia was going to support the revolution. Rueterholm discovered the plot in time by opening private letters. Armfelt, the guiding spirit of the conspiracy, escaped to Russia, but his mistress, who had rejected Duke Charles as lover, was pilloried in Stockholm, and public

opinion in Sweden turned against the mean and vindictive spirit of the Government. Frightened, the advisers of the Duke Regent became reactionary. The Press was forbidden to refer to the Constitution of France or the United States, and republican literature was prohibited. Yet Sweden had officially recognized the French Republic and received a subsidy. In the autumn of 1796 Gustavus IV visited Petersburg with a view to marrying Alexandra, the granddaughter of Catherine II, but as his Lutheran scruples would not allow his bride to worship in her Greek Orthodox Church after the marriage, the betrothal festivities were broken off. Catherine was much aggrieved and died two months later. Gustavus IV came of age on November 1, 1796, and his first act on taking over the Government was to dismiss Reuterholm. The brilliant entourage of Gustavus III came back and resumed their places in the Government. The King's narrow-minded obstinacy was hidden away under his deeply religious sense of duty. His marriage to a princess of Baden intensified his hatred of the French republic. His reactionary zeal was such that he put off his coronation till 1800 rather than summon the Estates. The House of Nobles passed the Act of Union and Security under compulsion, some of its members being afraid that their complicity in the assassination of Gustavus III might be revealed.

Twice—1794 and 1800—Sweden joined the

League of Armed Neutrality of the North, whose ships jointly patrolled the seas to protect their merchantmen against being searched by the British. Friendship sprang up again after so many fratricidal wars. "Scandinavia reunited" became the watchword of the day. In 1801 Nelson, after the battle of Copenhagen, was proceeding to Karlskrona, which was only saved by the timely assassination of the Tsar. The execution of the Duc d'Enghien, who was seized in Baden, brought the King's anger against Napoleon to a head; he saw in him the "Beast" of the Apocalypse whom he was destined by God to slay. *Le Moniteur* in Paris printed an article on Gustavus IV, that weakling who "had inherited nothing from Charles XII but his folly and his boots," and Gustavus immediately handed his passports to the Emperor's representative in Stockholm, since after the "insolent observations of Monsieur Bonaparte" in his journal he would have no further intercourse with him. Gustavus joined the third coalition against Napoleon, and took the command of 13,000 Swedish troops in Pomerania, where he remained inactive owing to a quarrel with the King of Prussia. Meanwhile, after Austerlitz, the coalition came to an end. Again in 1806 he remained inactive while Napoleon crushed Prussia; the French seized Pomerania, 1807, and though beaten back at first with loss from the siege of Stralsund, took it later in the year. The Swedish troops retired to Rügen, from which they were

allowed to sail for Sweden with all their armaments intact. According to the Treaty of Tilsit, Sweden was called upon by France and Russia to close her ports to England and join the Continental System. On February 21, 1808, Russian troops invaded Finland without any declaration of war. The regular Swedish troops tamely retired north to Uleåborg, and the impregnable Sveaborg with 2,000 guns and immense stores, guarded by 6,000 men, surrendered to a force of 10,000 men with 46 guns. Cronstedt, its commandant, was one of the Finnish traitors who thought Finland would prosper under Russia. Meanwhile all the Swedish troops were stationed in Scania and on the Norwegian border to ward off Danish attacks. Denmark had declared war on Sweden at the instigation of France and Russia, and in the hope of acquiring a large part of Southern Sweden. Sir John Moore, with 10,000 British troops, landed at Gothenburg, but Gustavus wasted the time in senseless quarrels with him and even placed him under arrest. After two months of this Moore sailed for England in disgust. No succour was sent to Finland until too late, and then in driblets. After retreating for two months in deep snow and bitter cold the starving and ill-clad Finnish army took the offensive under Adlercreutz. For about six months the heroic army of Finland held its own against a fourfold and fivefold number of Russian troops, and won several hard-fought victories. In spite of every

discouragement these devoted men thrust back the Imperial eagles with superhuman bravery and tenacity. Leaders worthy of such men arose among them, such as Döbeln and Sandels, whose bare presence was equal to whole regiments. The Swedish-Finnish poet, Johan Ludvig Runeberg, has sung this epic struggle in his "Fänrik Ståls Sägner." But the reinforcements from Sweden were insufficient, and arrived in a planless and haphazard way. The Finnish forces dwindled more and more from wounds and sickness. After their defeat in the fourteen hours' battle of Oravais they acted on the defensive and finally abandoned the hopeless struggle and, by the Convention of Olkijoki, November 19, 1808, evacuated Finland and retired behind its boundary, the River Kemi. Alexander I had added Finland to his dominions, but his ambitions went further. By investing Stockholm from the north and the east, while his Danish allies invaded Sweden from the west, he wished to partition Sweden as a new Poland. It was a fateful hour. Then a number of officers in high command conspired to dethrone the obstinate King and save their country. Adlersparre, one of the officers in command of the army on the Norwegian border, made a secret truce with Christian August of Augustenburg, the Commander-in-Chief of the Dano-Norwegian army, and promised him the succession to the Swedish Crown. Whereupon he marched on Stockholm. The King had news of his march and made ready to

leave Stockholm and join the Scanian army. To prevent this, which would have meant civil war, Adlercreutz, the hero of the Finnish war, with six officers, entered the King's apartments unannounced in the morning of March 13, 1809, and declared he had come to prevent his journey. The King drew his sword and called for help but was immediately disarmed. A little later the King escaped through a secret passage, but was seized as he ran across the courtyard and carried back to his room. He was taken as prisoner to Drottningholm, outside Stockholm. Duke Charles, his uncle, was proclaimed Regent, and summoned the Estates. Not a drop of blood was shed during this revolution. The King abdicated on March 29th, hoping that his son would take his place. But the Estates thanked the leaders of the revolution for their patriotism and declared that Gustavus IV and his descendants had forfeited the Crown of Sweden. The King and his family were then exiled from the country. He called himself Colonel Gustafsson, and died in poverty in Switzerland in 1837. His son called himself Prince of Vasa, and died in 1877 without male heirs.

A constitution committee drafted a new Constitution in a fortnight. It was passed by the Estates on June 5, 1809. On the following day Charles XIII received the Crown from them and signed the Constitution. Sweden had thereby become a limited constitutional monarchy as it is to-day. Prince Christian August of Augusten-

burg was, owing to the efforts of Adlersparre, elected Heir to the throne.

Russia made three attacks on Sweden: one army entered Sweden by land via Torneå; Barclay de Tolly marched across the Bothnian Gulf, over the ice, where it is at its narrowest; a third army seized the Åland Islands, and the Cossacks galloped across the ice and plundered near Stockholm. Barclay de Tolly soon marched back to Finland, but the remains of the heroic Finnish army capitulated to the northern Russian army at Kalix and were permitted to return to their homes. Negotiations for peace were opened at Frederikshamn. In order to get better terms the Swedes secretly landed 8,000 men north of the Russian army, which was at Umeå, to intercept its communications, but they were beaten twice and compelled to re-embark. Nothing remained but to submit to the humiliating terms of the victor, and on September 17, 1809, Sweden signed at Frederikshamn the hardest peace in its history. It ceded more than one third of its territory, namely, all Finland, the Åland Islands, the outposts of Stockholm, and Västerbotten and Swedish Lapland as far as Torneå and Muonio Rivers. The new status of Finland had already been settled in March 1809.[1] Peace was made with Denmark at Jönköping, December 10, 1809, on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*, and with France at Paris, January 6, 1810. Pomerania was given

[1] See Finland.

back to Sweden on condition of her joining the Continental System and closing her ports to English ships and goods.

The new Crown Prince, Charles Augustus, as he was called, arrived in Sweden early in 1810, and soon became extremely popular except among the Gustavian party. He died suddenly at a review of troops in Scania, May, 1810, and the false rumour spread that he had been poisoned by the leaders of the Gustavians. At his State funeral in Stockholm on June 20, 1810, the Court Marshal, Count Axel von Fersen, was stoned in his carriage by a raging mob, dragged out of it and battered to death, while the troops, owing to secret orders, looked on without interfering.

Adlersparre wished to elect the brother of the late Crown Prince, the Duke of Augustenburg, and the King and his ministers were won over to this view. Napoleon was informed of this and did not object. Others wished to re-establish the Union of Scandinavia by electing the King of Denmark. One of the Swedish couriers in Paris was Lieutenant Baron Otto Mörner. Like many of his fellow-soldiers, he thought that a French general on the throne might recover the prestige of Sweden and retake Finland. Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, was popular in Sweden for his generous treatment of Swedish prisoners. On his own personal initiative Mörner offered the Swedish Crown to Bernadotte, who ridiculed the offer, but told him he would accept if he were elected.

BERNADOTTE (CHARLES JOHN)

Mörner hurried back to Sweden to work for his election. He was placed under arrest by the Swedish Government, whose candidate at the meeting of the Estates at Örebro was still the Duke of Augustenburg. But admiration for Bernadotte and a belief that Napoleon favoured his candidature and would assist in recovering Finland turned all heads. The Government turned right-about, and on its proposal Bernadotte was elected Crown Prince of Sweden unanimously by all four Estates, **August 21, 1810.**

CHAPTER XXXI

BERNADOTTE AND HIS SUCCESSORS—THE UNION WITH NORWAY AND ITS DISSOLUTION

JEAN BERNADOTTE was born at Pau, 1763. He rose from a simple soldier through all grades to be Marshal of France and Prince of Ponte Corvo. He and Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, were married to sisters. Yet he had often dared to disagree with Napoleon who suspected him to harbour secret plans against himself. He took the name Karl Johan (Charles John) and arrived in his new kingdom in the autumn, 1810. Equally brilliant as a statesman and soldier, he at once assumed control of government and especially of foreign affairs. Though he firmly intended not to be the vassal of Napoleon, yet he was compelled to declare war against England at the dictation of the Emperor, because Sweden continued to import British goods in spite of the Continental System. The British Government was secretly informed that the war was not seriously meant. Not a shot was fired and smuggling flourished. As Napoleon continued to humiliate Sweden, Bernadotte adopted a new policy. He gave up

the fond hopes of the Swedes to reconquer Finland with the help of Napoleon. He saw that Sweden could not hold Finland in the long run against the might of Russia. Norway would be worth more to Sweden than Finland. With the help of Alexander I, and the consent of the anti-Napoleonic coalition, Denmark could be forced to cede Norway. When Swedish Pomerania was occupied by French troops in January, 1812, Bernadotte hesitated no longer. By a secret treaty at Petersburg, April, 1812, Alexander guaranteed to Sweden the acquisition of Norway in return for the assistance of thirty thousand Swedish troops against Napoleon in Germany. An extraordinary parliament at Örebro granted all that Bernadotte deemed necessary for the war. When Napoleon invaded Russia, he met Alexander at Åbo, August, 1812. They became lifelong friends. A Russian army corps was to be put under Bernadotte's command to conquer Norway. By a secret article (family compact) they bound themselves to assist each other against every attack. Bernadotte feared the old Royal Family.

After Napoleon's retreat from Russia, England also promised to assist in the acquisition of Norway on condition that Bernadotte first assisted the Allies in the overthrow of Napoleon. In the spring of 1813 Bernadotte landed in Germany with thirty thousand Swedish troops. During the armistice which followed upon the initial defeats of the Allies, he drew up a new plan of

campaign at a conference with the Tsar and the King of Prussia. The forces of the Allies were divided into three armies. He took command of the Northern army and beat off successfully the attempts of Oudinot, and of Ney, at Gross-Beeren, and at Dennewitz, to break through the ring of iron which closed round Napoleon. He was at Leipsic October 16th, 18th, and 19th, and there, as elsewhere, he spared the Swedes, sending only the artillery into action. Part of the Northern army followed the Allies to France, while he marched north into Holstein to force Denmark to cede Norway. There was little resistance, and Frederick VI soon lost courage. By the Peace of Kiel, January 14, 1814, Norway was ceded to Sweden as a kingdom in union with it; it was to pay its share of the Danish debt, and Iceland, the Faroes, and Greenland were to remain with Denmark, which acquired Swedish Pomerania. Thereupon Bernadotte marched back to assist his allies, but stopped in Belgium as he was against the restitution of the Bourbons. Yet Sweden was one of the seven signatories with France of the Treaty of Paris. Guadeloupe, which England had given to Sweden, was handed back to France, England paying a ransom of twenty-four million francs to Sweden.

The Norwegians had been released from their allegiance to Frederick VI. They were filled with patriotic pride at being again a free and independent people, and refused to be forced,

unasked, into a union with Sweden. A party led by the ablest statesman of the day, Count Wedel Jarlsberg, was for union with Sweden, but the large majority were for restoring the old independence of Norway. They rallied round their popular viceroy, Prince Christian Frederick, and refused to acknowledge the Treaty of Kiel. Christian Frederick assumed the reins of government, and called the representatives of the nation to meet in a national assembly at Eidsvold, near Christiania. They met on April 10, 1814, and a Constitution modelled on the constitutions of the United States, France (1791), and Spain (1812) was drawn up. This "Fundamental Law of Norway" was passed on May 17th, and the same day Christian Frederick was elected King of Norway. This declaration of independence was attended by great risks. The Great Powers threatened Norway and advised her to yield, but, single-handed, she was determined, though ill-equipped, to wage a struggle against the most consummate general of the time. He invaded Southern Norway. The Norwegians, fighting bravely, retired behind Glommen. Bernadotte, with wise moderation, after hostilities had lasted a fortnight, concluded the Armistice and Convention of Moss. Christian Frederick undertook to summon the Storthing, the Parliament of Norway, and lay down his crown in its hands, while Bernadotte promised to recognize the new Constitution of Norway with the modifications

necessitated by the union with Sweden, if such a union were assented to by the Storthing. The Storthing met at Christiania, and on October 10th Christian Frederick resigned his crown into its hands. Negotiations were conducted with Swedish commissioners with regard to the necessary alterations in the Constitution; they gave way on every point. On the eve of the expiration of the armistice the Storthing assented to the union with Sweden, almost unanimously. The amended Constitution was finally passed on November 4th, on which day the Storthing elected Charles XIII King of Norway. Norway was to be "a free, independent, and indivisible kingdom, united with Sweden under one king." Foreign affairs were to be in the hands of the King and a joint Swedish-Norwegian Council. Three Norwegian ministers were to be in attendance on the King when he resided in Stockholm. He may appoint a viceroy in Norway during his absence. The Norwegian army or navy not to be used abroad without the consent of the Storthing. The Storthing was a one-chamber parliament which constituted one fourth of its own members as an Upper House, Lagthing, which together with the Supreme Court formed a Court of Impeachment. According to paragraph 79 of the Constitution, a Bill passed by three successive Storthings becomes the law of the land, even without the assent of the King. That this suspensive royal veto did not apply to changes in the Constitution itself was

held by the Swedes, but even so it was a powerful weapon of democracy.

The Act of Union, August, 1815, passed by the Parliaments of the two countries, lays down in its preamble that the Union was accomplished, not by force of arms but by free conviction. Norway was to have full equality within the Union which resembled an offensive and defensive alliance, though Sweden came to be the predominant partner.

Soon it was found that Norway claimed full political equality with Sweden, and its democracy began that long struggle against the royal power, the chief link in the Union, which finally led to its disruption. Norway refused to pay its share of the Danish National Debt as it did not acknowledge the Treaty of Kiel, and made counter-claims for the restoration of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroes. Only under strong pressure from Charles XIV John, as Bernadotte called himself after his accession to the throne in 1818, did the Storthing agree to pay three millions out of the seven-million "daler" claimed by Denmark. The Storthing abolished the privileges of the nobility against the wishes of the King. May 17th, the Norwegian day of independence, was celebrated as a national festival, though the King tried to prevent it. Yet he, personally, was extremely popular, while the appointment of Swedes to be viceroys or governors of Norway was looked upon as a mark of inferiority, and

after 1829 no Swede was appointed to that post. The King's idea was that the union should become as close as the union of Scotland and England, but the differences between the two peoples were too deep-rooted for them to grow into one people. In foreign policy the King was very successful. Son of the revolution as he was, he distrusted Liberal ideas and drew nearer to Russia. In 1826 he ended a series of negotiations with Russia by a treaty in Petersburg, according to which the districts in Finmark hitherto occupied in common by Russians and Norwegians were partitioned between the two countries, and he thereby stopped the unceasing advance of Russia towards the ice-free Atlantic in that direction.

Sweden made rapid material progress under Charles XIV. The Göta Canal, connecting Stockholm and Gothenburg, took twenty years and over twenty million "daler" to construct. New industries sprang up and Sweden became a grain-exporting country. In spite of the great prosperity of Sweden an opposition, which numbered in its ranks the most talented and gifted men in the country, arose against various reactionary measures of the King. He never learnt Swedish, and was dependent on his intimate friends for knowledge of his subjects. The censorship of the Press was unjust and inefficient. Riots took place in Stockholm on the occasion of the imprisonment of an editor. The last meeting of the Estates in his reign (1840) compelled the

King to adopt various administrative changes and reforms and, out of spite, to pay out of his own pocket a large sum used without warrant on the diplomatic service. But when he died at eighty-one, in 1844, his people remembered how much he had done for Sweden. "No one has had a career like mine," he exclaimed. He, the great warrior, was the first King of Sweden who reigned without war, the first who lived to see sons and grandsons of his own, and he was older than any of his predecessors at his death. Esaias Tegner, the national poet, author of Frithiof's Saga, Geijer, the historian, Ling, the founder of modern gymnastics, and the chemist Berzelius, shed lustre on Sweden in the reign of Charles XIV.

One of the first acts of Oscar I (1844–59), a cultured liberal, was to sanction the use of the Norwegian national flag as a naval flag, with the mark of the Union in one corner. He laid many schemes of reform before the Estates, but most of them were whittled down or put off. A proposal to modernize the antiquated and cumbersome procedure of the Estates was defeated by themselves. Various bonds and shackles that bound trade and industry were removed. Oscar I was a strong adherent of a united Scandinavia confronting German aggression. During the first Dano-German war Swedish and Norwegian volunteers flocked under the Danish standard, and a Swedish-Norwegian army was stationed in Scania, while five thousand men were sent to Funen.

Yet Sweden remained neutral. Oscar I leant on the Western Liberal Powers, France and England, and when Russia, in 1851, attempted to acquire fishing rights for the Russian Lapps on the Norwegian coast of the Varanger Fiord, he refused to allow Russia to get a footing and a settlement there. Russia in return closed her border to the Norwegian Lapps. Fortunately, soon after Russia had her hands full with the Crimean War. Sweden, though her relations with Russia were not friendly, remained neutral, but in 1855 concluded the November Treaty with France and England, according to which these Powers bound themselves to assist Sweden and Norway with all their forces in case of any encroachment by Russia on their rights or their territories. In the Treaty of Paris (1856) Russia undertook not to fortify the Åland Islands, the outposts of Stockholm. Industry and commerce advanced by leaps and bounds, and Sweden built her main railways. It was a time of great material progress.

Charles XV (1859–72) was a genial artist, poet, painter, and musician, extremely popular and beloved in both his countries. While he did not see his way to abolish the Norwegian viceroyalty, as the Norwegians and he himself desired, owing to the hostility of the Swedes, he appointed no viceroy during his reign. Proposals for the revision of the Union and the deliberations of Union committees came to nothing, as the Norwegians

did not consider that they had the full equality which they demanded.

The greatest achievement of his reign was the reform of the Estates, carried by Baron Louis de Geer. This was passed by the Estates, after a stubborn resistance, in December, 1865, and promulgated on June 22, 1866. Parliament was to consist of two chambers. The First Chamber elected for nine years, by the Communal Councils, composed of unpaid members over thirty-five years old, landowners or possessors of a taxable income of four thousand kroner. The Second Chamber was elected for three years by electors with a property qualification. In certain cases of disagreement the two chambers were to vote together in common, especially in questions of supply.

Charles XV had personally promised support to Denmark in the war of 1864, but his ministers refused to risk a war without the active support of one of the Great Powers. Demonstrations of sympathy and numerous volunteers was all the help Sweden and Norway could give. In 1872, on the death of Charles XV, he was succeeded by his brother, Oscar II, a man of exceptional culture and knowledge, gifted in many ways. One of his first acts was to abolish the viceroyalty in Norway (1873), which made him popular in that country. In Sweden the opposition between the First Chamber dominated by the nobles and the great landowners, and the Second Chamber,

dominated by the Agrarian party (*landtmanna-partiet*), of parsimonious peasant proprietors, hindered many useful reforms and wrecked various defence schemes. The peasant deputies cut down the Civil List and compelled the King to be crowned at his own expense, and made military reform dependent on the abolition of land taxes connected with military tenure. Only in 1885, at the cost of a reduction of thirty per cent. in these taxes, did they pass a first instalment of army reform. The next instalment was in 1892, when in return the remaining land taxes were abolished. Universal conscription, compulsory service, was introduced in 1901. The impregnable fortress of Boden was hewed out in granite in Norrland, near the Finnish border, since Finland was no longer a buffer state. New forts were built to defend Gothenburg. The struggle between Free Trade and Protection led to the victory of the latter in 1888, when duties on corn were introduced, and duties on industrial imports followed in 1892. The leader of the Agrarian party, E. G. Boström, was in power as Prime Minister of Sweden, 1891–1905, with an interval, 1900–2. During the last years of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century Sweden began to export dairy produce instead of corn. The rich iron ores near Gellivara and Kiruna in Norrland were tapped by the northernmost railway in the world, running from Luleå on the Bothnian Gulf to the Norwegian

port, Narvik, on the Atlantic. A great industrial era has dawned for Sweden with its vast water power. Already more than one third of the population lives by industrial pursuits, and in 1909 a general strike, which failed, brought untold misery. Sweden has more railways and telephones in proportion to its population than any other country.

When the army reform had been finally settled franchise reform became a burning question. In 1905 the first Liberal Ministry in Sweden was formed by Staaff. His Franchise Bill was thrown out, and the Conservative Ministry of Lindman laid proposals for proportional representation in the election for both Chambers before Parliament. The Bill was passed by the Second Chamber on condition that the municipal franchise was reformed so that a democratic element entered the communal councils which elect the First Chamber, the members of which were to be paid and elected on a lower census. The franchise reform was finally passed in 1909. A powerful Labour and Socialist party has sprung up under the leadership of Branting.

The Liberal party in Norway, under the leadership of Johan Sverdrup, aimed at "concentrating all power in the Storthing," as he declared on one occasion. Soon there came a test question. The Storthing passed three times—1874, 1877, 1880—a Bill that the members of the Cabinet should participate in its debates. The King

each time refused sanction. He declared that, as this was a change in the Constitution of Norway, he had an absolute not a suspensive veto in this matter and his view was upheld by the Faculty of Law of Christiania University and the Conservative party. The Storthing now declared that its Bill had become a statute of the realm without the King's sanction, being passed the third time with the necessary majority, on June 9, 1880, and requested its publication by the Government. The Ministry refused this. The conflict grew in violence. During the election in 1882 the poet Björnson and others spoke in favour of Norway as a free republic. The Liberals numbered eighty-three in the new Storthing, the Conservatives thirty-one. The eleven ministers of the Cabinet of C. A. Selmer were then impeached by the Storthing before a Court of Impeachment, composed of the Lagting and of the Supreme Court. After a trial lasting ten months Selmer and seven ministers were sentenced to be deprived of office, and three of them to be fined, in February, 1884. Oscar II did not follow the advice of his entourage to disregard the sentence, though he continued to assert the unimpaired royal prerogative. Selmer resigned, and after some attempts to form a Conservative Ministry the King was compelled to ask Johan Sverdrup to form a Cabinet. Supreme power had passed from the hands of an alien king to the Storthing which, to save appearances, passed a new resolu-

tion, which he sanctioned, regarding the participation of ministers in its debates. Various joint commissions were appointed by Norway and Sweden to revise the Act of Union. The Swedes, who had entirely monopolized the Department of Foreign Affairs, offered to let the Foreign Minister be either a Swede or a Norwegian; but the Norwegian Radicals went further. They maintained that since Norway had the largest commercial fleet next to England—Germany has since taken her place—she was entitled to have a separate consular service, which according to their Constitution they could establish without the consent of Sweden. In February, 1905, Norway broke off the last negotiations about a separate consular service, and its new Ministry deliberately prepared the disruption of the Union. The offer of the Swedish Crown Prince, April, 1905, acting as Regent during his father's illness, was rejected; it was a belated attempt to put the two countries on the same footing. The Storthing resolved to establish a separate consular service, and when King Oscar refused to sanction this his Norwegian ministers resigned. Oscar II refused to accept their resignations, being "unable at the moment to form a Ministry" as all parties in Norway stood behind this demand. All the ministers stuck to their resignations, and at a special meeting of the Storthing on June 7, 1905, it was unanimously declared that "as King Oscar II has announced that he is unable to form

a Government, he has thereby ceased to reign." In this strange way the Union of ninety-one years was dissolved. The retiring Ministry were retained at the head of affairs. Anger and indignation rose high in Sweden. The Swedish Parliament, in an extraordinary session, laid down certain conditions to be fulfilled by Norway before it would recognize the dissolution. This resulted in a conference at Karlstad, in Sweden, in which four members of each government took part. Meanwhile troops stood on both sides of the frontier ready to cross it. War hung in the balance. After several hitches the conference reached an agreement on September 23rd. A narrow strip on both sides of the frontier, reaching from Skagerak to the 61st degree of latitude was constituted as a neutral zone between the two countries, within which no fortifications must exist nor any troops be stationed. Norway was therefore compelled to dismantle a line of forts stretching from Frederiksten to Kongsvinger, all built within the ten years that preceded the conference. The time-honoured rights of the nomad Lapps to reindeer pasturage on both sides of the frontier were temporarily secured, and so was the right to export Swedish iron ore by the way of the Norwegian port, Narvik. Disagreements arising out of the Karlstad Treaty were to be submitted to The Hague Arbitration Court. The treaty was agreed to by the Swedish Parliament and approved by Oscar II on October 26,

1905. Since then the two peoples have been gradually drawing together, and in case of Russian aggression they will stand shoulder to shoulder.

Sweden acceded to the Baltic and North Sea Convention, guaranteeing the possessions of the contracting Powers on the coasts of these seas, in 1908. She is at present engaged in strengthening her defences, impelled thereto with the fate of Finland before her eyes. On the death of Oscar II in 1907, he was succeeded by Gustavus V, who had made a personal appeal to his people to make sacrifices for their Army and Navy.

The Liberal Cabinet of Mr. Staaff appointed a Commission of Inquiry on National Defence. The alarmist Russophobe pamphlets of the famous traveller, Sven Hedin, were one of the signs of growing discontent with this shelving of the question. A procession of thirty thousand peasants marched to the Royal Palace in Stockholm to demand a decision. Gustavus V in a speech acceded to their demands. The Staaff Cabinet, not having been consulted, resigned. A non-party Ministry with Conservative leanings took its place with the solution of the defence question as its sole program. At the elections held subsequently the Liberal party lost many seats, chiefly to the Conservatives. The new Ministry remained in power, supported not only by the Conservatives but by many Liberals for patriotic reasons. The action of the King had thus been vindicated by the course of events.

Recently, Gustavus V took the initiative to a conference of the three Scandinavian Kings, accompanied by their Foreign Ministers at Malmö, in Sweden. The old idea of a United Scandinavia stands out stronger than ever in the hour of danger.

PART IV

FINLAND

CHAPTER XXXII

FINLAND AFTER ITS SEPARATION FROM SWEDEN (1809–1914)

THE invasion of Finland by a Russian army and the heroic defence of the Finnish army have been related.[1]

All armed resistance was at an end, but Finland had not been ceded to Russia when certain representatives of its four Estates were received in Petersburg by the Tsar. At their suggestion he summoned the Finnish Diet to meet at Borgå, March, 1809. On March 15th Alexander I issued at Borgå an Act of Assurance to the people of Finland. "Providence having placed Us in possession of the Grand Duchy of Finland We hereby confirm and ratify the religion and fundamental laws, rights and privileges of its inhabitants, according to their Constitution, and promise to maintain them firm and unchanged in full force." He reiterated this promise in the speech with which he opened the Diet, and when the Estates took the oath of homage to him as Grand Duke of Finland in the Cathedral the Act of

[1] See Sweden.

Assurance was read out and solemnly handed to the nobles. It was also read out in every church in Finland. His popularity was still more increased by the speech with which he closed the Diet in July, 1809. "I have kept watch and ward over the independence of your opinions. This brave and loyal people will be grateful to Providence, which has brought them to their present status, placed from this time forward in the rank of nations (*placé désormais au rang des nations*) under the sway of its own laws." The doubts thrown by Panslavist writers on the intentions of Alexander I are dispelled by the instructions which he gave to the first Governor of Finland. "It has been my aim to give the people of Finland a political existence so that they shall regard themselves, not as subject to Russia, but attached to her by their own manifest interests."

After the cession of Finland by the Treaty of Frederikshamn, September, 1809, the Government of Finland was organized on the basis of the two constitutions given by Gustavus III in 1772 and 1789. The province of Viborg, which had been part of Russia since 1721, was reunited to Finland (1811). A Council of State was established, one half of whose members formed a Supreme Court. In 1816 its name was changed to "Imperial Senate of Finland" and the senators were appointed by the Tsar. The Governor-General presided at their meetings. A Secretary for Finland in Petersburg formed the link between

the Tsar as Grand Duke of Finland and the Diet. The Senate prepared all Bills to be laid before the Diet, though they were only submitted on the initiative of the Tsar. Constitutional reforms required the consent of all four Estates, all other Bills only the assent of three Estates. The Diet was not convoked during the reigns of Alexander I and Nicholas I, but Alexander II opened it in person (1863). Three years before, in 1860, he had granted Finland a separate coinage. In his speech from the throne he reiterated the assurances of Alexander I as to the constitutional rights of Finland and made use of the terms "state" and "nation." A commission was appointed to codify the statutes of the Finnish Constitution. The Diet was to assemble every five years. This Diet met at Helsingfors, to which the seat of Government had been moved from Åbo in 1821. The University of Finland was moved from Åbo to Helsingfors in 1827.

In 1877 the Russian War Minister desired to extend to Finland the system of general conscription introduced in the Empire. A Bill to that effect was laid before the Diet which made certain changes in it; universal service was accepted on condition that the Finnish troops were only bound to serve in Finnish regiments under Finnish officers, and only bound to defend the throne and their country, *i. e.*, Finland. The Diet wished to avoid the Russianization of the Finnish army, but the Russian War Minister maintained that

Finlanders were bound to defend the whole Empire, not only Finland. The Finnish guards fought with great valour in the Russo-Turkish War in 1878.

For years there was a bitter struggle between the Fennomans, who demanded equality for Finnish side by side with Swedish, and the Svecomans who upheld the predominance of Swedish. The Tsar enacted that the prevailing language of each commune should be its official language, and soon the two languages were on an equal footing, but the Svecomans declared that the Fennomans had called for assistance from Russia in a wholly internal matter and thus sown the seeds of future interference.

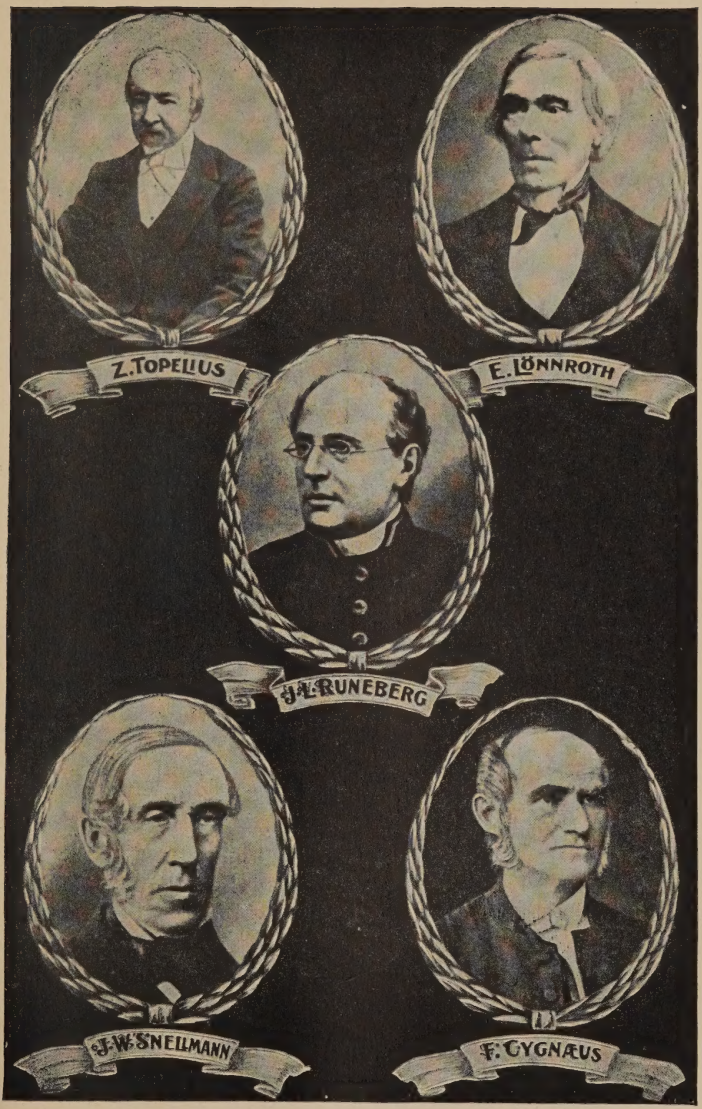
The Panslavists worked for the political and economic solidarity of Finland and Russia. In 1890 two commissions were appointed in Petersburg to bring Finnish coinage, customs, and postage into greater conformity with that of the Empire. Separate Finnish postage was abolished in 1899.

Greater changes were contemplated. In July, 1898, an extraordinary session of the Diet was called to meet on January 19, 1899; on August 24th the Tsar issued his Peace Manifesto, and six days later, August 30th, he appointed Bobrikoff Governor-General of Finland. This was a blow in the face of the "right and justice" invoked by the Tsar in his Peace Manifesto, for Bobrikoff was notorious for his terroristic rule of

the Baltic provinces. On January 19th he laid a Bill before the Diet to bring the Finnish army into conformity with that of the Empire. The Finnish army was to be four times larger and to be Russianized and incorporated in the Russian army. Bobrikoff told the Diet the Bill *must* be passed. This was a breach of the Constitution. The motives of the Bill were drafted by the War Minister, Kuropatkin, and by a commission presided over by Pobjedonoszev, the leader of Russian Panslavism. The Bill was to be submitted to the Imperial Council "as a matter of concern to the whole Empire of which the Grand Duchy of Finland is an inseparable part." The Diet was willing to contribute its quota of men and money in proportion to other parts of the Empire, *i. e.*, about twenty thousand men at an annual cost of one million pounds, on condition of keeping the Finnish troops separate from the Russian army. But while the Bill was being debated the Imperial Manifesto of February 15, 1899, came as a bolt from the blue. It was a *coup d'état*, an abrogation of the Finnish Constitution. All Finnish matters of Imperial interest were hereafter to be dealt with by Russian institutions, the Tsar to decide which matters were Imperial or exclusively local and Finnish. By ten votes to ten the Senate published this manifesto under protest. The Diet declared itself ready to double the number of Finnish troops, and stated that the new military Bill could not

become law without the concurring consent of the Emperor Grand Duke and the Estates; it published an *exposé* of Finland's relations to the Empire and the rights of the Diet. The Tsar gave an ungracious answer to their remonstrance.

All strife between Fennomans and Svecomans now ceased. Like one man the people joined in a petition to the Grand Duke. This was read from the pulpit of every church in the country and signed in every parish. On March 13, 1899, five hundred representatives of the people, one from every parish, assembled in Helsingfors to take the petition, signed by over 520,000 people, to Petersburg. In the depth of winter, in a fortnight, these signatures had been collected, even in the highest North, beyond the Arctic Circle, by runners on snowshoes. When the deputation arrived in Petersburg, the State Secretary for Finland told them from the Tsar "to return to their homes at once, though the Tsar was not angry with them." A member of the deputation declared in memorable words: "We are inured to the visitations of Nature, but such a night frost as that of February 15th we have never known. With one stroke of the pen the dearest treasure we possessed and hoped to hand on to our children was destroyed that night. Can His Majesty afford to throw away the loyal love of this people, can he bear the responsibility of its utter ruin before Almighty God and the judgment of history?" It was all in vain. The



FIVE FINNISH LEADERS

Tsar also refused to receive a European deputation of professors of law and men of science who wished to protest against the *coup d'état.*

Bobrikoff was exasperated at the tough passive resistance to his measures for the Russification of Finland, and decided to bully and goad the people into rebellion. Newspaper after newspaper was confiscated. The Finnish army was dissolved, and Russian troops sent to protect him and his tools.

Russian and Carelian pedlars, who were agents and spies in his service, wandered round the country, ostensibly with their wares. Governors of provinces, judges, burgomasters, and other officials were dismissed without pensions, and their places were filled by Russians or by pro-Russian Finnish adventurers utterly unfit to hold office. Domiciliary visits, expulsions, and arrests, occurred daily. Leading men of influence were first harassed and then exiled. Russian was made the official language for all correspondence. Bribery was resorted to on a large scale. Servants in families were often spies in the secret service of the police, the cost of which was increased at the expense of the Finlanders, against their own will; detectives were about everywhere, listening to conversations and sending in reports on trivial matters. Russian Cossacks and gendarmes were imported "to keep order," while they themselves were the only danger for public safety and often guilty of crimes of violence.

The Senate was a helpless tool in Russian hands, for it had been carefully weeded out, and consisted of the creatures of Bobrikoff. The Russians made use of the racial antagonism and systematically incited the Finnish working-men against their Swedish employers. Daily life was full of fear and suspicion and insecurity. People spoke in whispers, and kept under lock and key every piece of written paper for fear of police thieves. The most innocent actions could be distorted into anti-Russian actions; a party of cards might be called a political meeting, a ball a conspiracy. The only hope left was a revolution in Russia.

On June 16, 1904, Eugen Schauman shot Bobrikoff with a pistol as he was entering the Senate House, and immediately afterwards shot himself. Schauman was the son of an ex-member of the Senate and came of a distinguished family. He sacrificed a young and promising life for his country.

The new Governor, Prince Obolenski, was conciliatory. He allowed most of the exiled patriots to come back. In October, 1905, the gigantic general strike in Russia wrested from the Tsar the promise of a Constitution. Finland decided to do likewise. From October 31st to November 6th a general strike took place in Finland. The Governor-General and the Senate resigned. The Svecomans and the so-called Young Finns—who desired co-operation with the Swedes against the Panslavist danger—formed a "consti-

tutional" party and sent a petition to the Tsar. His answer was the manifesto of November 4, 1905, which suspended the manifesto of February 15, 1899, and promised to develop the rights of the Finnish people on the basis of their Fundamental Laws, reformed and modernized. The Senate was reconstituted and composed of constitutionalists with Leo Mechelin at their head. A conciliatory Governor-General, Gerard, was appointed. The Diet passed a new Law of the Diet. There was to be one single chamber consisting of two hundred members, elected for three years. Every man and woman over twenty-four years of age had the right to vote in the elections for the Finnish Parliament, and was eligible as a member of it. Proportional representation, according to the d'Hondt system, was to be introduced. This was the most democratic Parliament in the world. The number of voters was increased from 100,000 to 1,250,000, and twenty-five women were elected in the first elections to it in the new Parliament. Thus the Finlanders were the first nation not only to give parliamentary suffrage to women, but to give them seats in Parliament.

The Tsar had no time to spare for Finland. He was grappling with revolution at home, and the first and second Duma were not obsequious. As soon as he had got a Duma after his heart the Russian Press began to attack Finland for hatching dangerous revolutionary plots. Questions

were asked in the Duma whether Russian authority extended to Finland. Stolypin answered, in May, 1908, that the autonomy of Finland was a spontaneous gift of the Tsar which could be taken back if misused. Russian interest must predominate in Finland, whose relations to Russia were wholly determined by the Treaty of Frederikshamn. In vain Milyukoff defended Finland eloquently against the reactionaries in the Duma. On June 2, 1908, the Tsar issued an ordinance that all Finnish questions should be laid directly before the Russian Ministerial Council, who were to determine which of them were Imperial and discuss them. The Secretary of State for Finland was no longer to report separately to the Tsar. This was an abrogation of the Finnish Constitution, against which Senate and Diet both protested. When the speaker referred to it in his opening speech the Diet was dissolved.

The first Diet elected by universal suffrage, in 1907, had eighty Socialist members, who in 1908 were able to carry a vote of no confidence against the Senate, the Fennomans not voting. The Tsar declared that his decision was final, and all petitions were in vain. At the beginning of 1909 a Russo-Finnish Commission, composed of six Russians and five Finns, began to sit in Petersburg to investigate which matters were to be withdrawn from the competence of the Finnish Diet as being Imperial matters. The appointment of the assistant of Bobrikoff, Seyn, as Governor-

General of Finland, showed a violently anti-Finnish tendency. In 1910 the storm broke. On March 27th the Tsar issued a manifesto, embodying proposals for regulating laws and matters of Imperial importance concerning Finland. A list was given of Imperial and not exclusively Finnish matters, based solely on the report of the Russian majority of the commission, as follows: (1) Finland's share of the Imperial expenditure and all taxation relating thereto; (2) conscription and all military matters; (3) the rights of Russian subjects in Finland who are not Finnish citizens; (4) the use of the language of the Empire, Russian, in Finland; (5) the execution in Finland of the decisions of the courts and authorities of the Empire; (6) the principles and the limits of the separate Government of Finland; (7) keeping order in Finland and the organization thereof, justice, education, meetings, clubs, societies, press laws and the import of foreign literature, customs, coinage, post office, telegraphs, railways, pilotage. The Russian minister concerned sends the Bill to the Finnish Senate and asks for its opinion, to be given within a certain time. "Local Bills" only were to be sent to the Diet ere they came before the Duma and Council. The Diet was to send one representative to the Imperial Council and four to the Duma, in which the Russians in Finland were to be represented by one member. The Diet now sent a petition to the Tsar explaining why "a change in the Funda-

mental Laws of Finland without the consent of the Diet cannot be held valid. The conflicts arising from their enforcement will bring suffering on us, but fear of suffering does not justify betrayal of the Constitution. We implore you to save our laws and our rights, and keep the most law-abiding of your subjects loyal." But the Duma passed this abolition of the Finnish Constitution without change, and Nicholas II signed it on June 30, 1910. The Russification of Finland, its annihilation as a separate State, now proceeded apace. The contribution of Finland to the military expenses of the Empire, which was ten million marks, was to be raised to twelve million marks in 1911, and to rise by one million marks annually until it reached twenty millions in 1919, which was to be the annual sum thereafter. Russian residents in Finland, including soldiers, were to have the same political and communal rights as Finlanders, and Finnish officials who disobeyed this law were to be prosecuted before Russian courts. The Senate became a tool of Russification which blindly followed the directions given to it, without regard to justice or law. All the nineteen members of the Viborg High Court were sentenced by a Russian judge to sixteen months' imprisonment in a Russian prison for disobedience to the law giving Russians equal rights with the Finlanders in Finland; they regarded it as illegal, as it had not been passed by the Diet. But all Russian attempts to exasper-

ate the Finlanders and goad them into rebellion beat in vain on the rock of passive resistance. Finland is confident that she can hold out till the Government of Russia has become so liberalized that justice is given her. She will then again become a contented and loyal member of the Russian Empire. Dependent as Russia is on her Baltic seaboard it is against her interest, in the long run, to alienate the sympathies of the three Scandinavian kingdoms.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLES OF EVENTS

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLES OF EVENTS IN SWEDEN, DENMARK, AND NORWAY

SWEDEN	DENMARK
	826 King Harald baptized at Mayence.
About 830. Ansgar introduces Christianity.	
About 860. Rurik founds the Russian Empire.	
About 1008. King Olaf baptized.	
	1013–14 Conquest of England.
	1018–35 Cnut the Great rules Denmark and England.
1060*c.* The old royal dynasty extinct. Civil war.	
	1104 Archbishop's see at Lund.
	1131 Cnut Lavard assassinated.
	1131–57 Civil war.
1157*c.* Crusade to Finland.	
1160 Saint Eric slain.	
1164 Archbishop's see at Uppsala.	
	1168 Conquest of Rügen.
1187 Stockholm founded.	
	1219 Battle of Reval.
1222 Sverker dynasty extinct.	
	1223 Valdemar the Victorious prisoner.
	1227 Battle of Bornhöved.
1248 Church council at Skeninge.	

SWEDEN	DENMARK
1249 Second crusade to Finland.	
1250 Accession of the Folkung dynasty.	
1256 Death of Earl Birger.	About 1256–1300. Struggle between Church and State.
1293 Third crusade to Finland.	
1306 Torgils Knutsson, Regent 1290–1306, executed.	
1306 The Håtuna surprise.	
1317 The Nyköping banquet.	
1323 Peace of Nöteborg. Finland Swedish.	
	1326–40 Denmark dismembered.
1332 Scania joins Sweden.	
	1346 Estland sold.
1350 Sweden's first general code of law. The Black Death.	
1360 Scania lost to Denmark.	
1361 Gotland Danish.	1361 Visby taken.
1363–71 Civil war. Albrecht and Hakon.	
	1386 Slesvig a fief of the Counts of Holstein.
	1387 Margaret Regent.
1389 The battle of Falköping.	
1390–98 The Vitalian pirates.	
	1396 Eric of Pomerania king.
1397 Eric crowned. The Kalmar Union.	
1398–1408 Gotland held by the Teutonic Knights.	
1410–35 King Eric at war with Holstein and the Hansa.	
	1438 Eric in exile.
1434–35 Engelbrekt liberates Sweden.	
1435–36 The first general assemblies (parliaments) of Sweden.	

SWEDEN	DENMARK
	1443 Copenhagen a royal residence.
	1460 Christian I acquires Holstein.
1463–70 Civil war.	
1471 Battle of Brunkeberg.	
1477 Uppsala University founded.	
	1479 Copenhagen University founded.
1483 Printing introduced.	
1495–97 War with Russia.	
	1500 Battle of Hemmingsted Ditmarsken.
1501–12 Intermittent war with Denmark.	
1517 Gustaf Trolle deposed.	
1520 Death of Sten Sture the Elder. The Stockholm Massacre.	
1521 Gustavus Vasa liberates Sweden.	
1527 Vesteras assembly.	
	1533–36 Civil war.
	1536 The Reformation.
	1539 The Church Ordinance.
1544 Hereditary succession of the Vasa family.	1544 Division of the Duchies.
	1559 Ditmarsken conquered.
1563–70 The Northern Seven Years' War.	
	1576–97 Tycho Brahe in Hveen.
1577 Eric XIV poisoned. The new Liturgy.	
1587 Sigismund, King of Poland.	
	1588–96 Rule of the Regents.
1593 The Uppsala assembly.	
1598 The battle of Stångebro.	

SWEDEN	DENMARK
1600 The Sixty Years' War of Succession with Poland begins.	
1609 The Russian war begins.	
1611–13 The Kalmar war.	
1617 Peace of Stolbova.	
1621 War with Poland.	
	1624 Christiania founded.
	1625–29 Christian IV in the Thirty Years' War.
	1626 Battle of Lutter am Bārenberge.
1629 Truce of Altmark.	1629 Peace of Lübeck.
1630 Gustavus lands in Germany.	
1631 Battle of Breitenfeld.	
1632 Battle of Lützen.	
1634 Battle of Nördlingen.	
1635–41 Johan Baner Commander-in-Chief.	
1641–45 Torstensson Commander-in-Chief.	
1643–45 War with Denmark.	1643–45 War with Sweden.
1645 Peace of Brömsebro.	
1648 Peace of Westphalia.	
1654 Christina abdicates.	
1655 War with Poland.	
	1657 War declared against Sweden.
1658 Peace of Roskilde.	
1660 Peace of Copenhagen and of Oliva.	1660 Absolutism introduced.
	1665 The Lex Regia.
1675–79 War with Denmark and Brandenburg.	1675–79 The Scanian war.
1676 Battle of Lund.	
1679 Peace of Lund, Nijmegen, St. Germain.	
1680 Absolutism.	

SWEDEN	DENMARK
	1683 Code of Christian V.
1700 The Great Northern War begins. Battle of Narva.	1700 Peace of Travendal.
	1701–2 Serfdom abolished.
1702–06 Charles XII in Poland and Saxony.	
1709 Battle of Poltava.	1709 War with Sweden.
1710 Battle of Helsingborg.	
1713 Stenbock capitulates.	
1714 Charles returns from Turkey.	
1716–18 Goertz in Sweden.	
1719–20 The new Constitution. Peace with Denmark, Hanover, Prussia.	
	1720 Peace of Frederiksborg.
1721 Peace of Nystad.	1721 Slesvig incorporated in Denmark.
1727–38 Horn rules Sweden.	
1739 The "Hats" in power.	
1741–43 War with Russia.	
1757–62 The Pomeranian war.	
	1762 Tsar Peter III threatens war.
	1769 Alliance with Russia against Sweden.
	1770–72 Struensee Dictator. His execution.
1772 *Coup d'état* by Gustavus III.	
	1773 The Holstein Gottorp exchange.
1780 Armed neutrality.	
	1784 *Coup d'état* of Crown Prince Frederik.
1788–90 War with Russia.	1788 War with Sweden. Freedom of the peasants.
1789 The Act of Security.	
1792 Gustavus III assassinated.	

SWEDEN	DENMARK
	1794 Armed neutrality.
	1801 Battle of Copenhagen.
1805 War with France.	
	1807 Danish fleet seized by the English.
1808 War in Finland.	
1809 Finland ceded.	1809 Peace with Sweden at Jönköping.
1810 Bernadotte Crown Prince.	
	1811 University of Christiania founded.
1814 Norway united to Sweden.	1814 Peace of Kiel. Independence of Norway.
1815 The Act of Union.	
	1835–36 Consultative Estates meet.
	1842 Hiort Lorenzen speaks Danish in the Slesvig Estates.
	1848–49 The Free Constitution.
	1849–50 The Slesvig-Holstein war.
	1852 Succession Treaty of London.
1855 The November Treaty.	
	1864 War with Germany and Austria. Slesvig and Holstein ceded by the Peace of Vienna.
1865–66 Parliamentary Reform.	
	1866 Revision of the Constitution. Paragraph 5 in the Treaty of Prague.
	1874 The Constitution of Iceland.
	1875–94 Estrup Premier.
1887 Protectionism introduced.	
1905 Separation from Norway.	
1909 Parliamentary Reform.	

NORWAY

872	Harald Fairhair, sole King of Norway.
874–930	Settlement of Iceland.
930	Iceland a Commonwealth.
1000	Battle of Svold. Iceland Christianized.
1030	Battle of Stiklastad. Death of St. Olaf.
1066	Battle of Stamfordbridge.
1130–84	Civil war.
1152	Archbishop's see at Nidaros (Trondhjem).
1240	Duke Skule slain.
1262–64	Union of Iceland and Norway.
1319	Union with Sweden. Dynasty extinct.
1371	Union with Sweden dissolved.
1388	Margaret Regent.
1389	Eric of Pomerania king.
1449–50	Karl Knutsson king.
1469	Orkney and Shetland lost.
1506–11	Christian (II) Viceroy of Norway.
1531–32	Christian II returns to Norway.
1537	Norway declared to be part of Denmark.

NORWAY UNDER DANISH RULE

1814	May 17, Constitution of Norway. Declaration of Independence.
1826	Delimitation Treaty with Russia.
1844	Norway gets its own naval flag.
1873	Office of viceroy abolished.
1884	Ministry impeached. Sverdrup Premier.
1905	Separation from Sweden. Haakon VII.

REIGNS OF KINGS AND REGENTS

SWEDEN	DENMARK	NORWAY
	Gorm the Old, 900–940.	Harald Fairhair, 860–930.
	Harald Bluetooth, 940–85.	Hakon the Good, 934–60.
Olaf Skott-Konung, 994–1022.	Sven Fork-Beard, 985–1014.	Earl Hakon, 965–95.
	Harald, 1014–18.	Olaf Tryggvason, 995–1000.
	Cnut the Great, 1018–35.	Earl Eirik and Earl Svein, 1000–15.
Anund Jakob, 1022–50.	Harda-Cnut, 1035–42.	Saint Olaf, 1015–28.
Edmund the Old, 1050–60.	Magnus the Good, 1042–47.	Cnut the Great, 1028–35.
		Magnus the Good, 1035–47.
	THE ESTRITH DYNASTY (1047–1375)	
The House of Stenkil, 1060–1130.	Sven Estrithsson, 1047–75.	Harald Hardrada, 1047–66.
	Harald Hein, 1075–80.	Olaf the Quiet, 1066–93.
	Saint Cnut, 1080–86.	
	Olaf Hunger, 1086–95.	Magnus Barcleg, 1093–1103.
	Erik the Evergood, 1095–1103.	
The House of Eric and the House of Sverker, 1130–1250.	Niels Svensson, 1104–34.	Eystein, Olaf, Sigurd (three kings), 1103–30.

Saint Eric, 1150–60.

Erik Emune, 1134–37.
Erik Lamb, 1137–40.
Civil war.
Valdemar the Great, 1157–82.
Cnut VI, 1182–1202.
Valdemar the Victorious, 1202–41.
Eric Plough Penny, 1242–50.

Civil war.

Magnus Erlingsson, 1161–84.
Sverre, 1184–1202.

Hakon the Old, 1217–63.

THE FOLKUNG DYNASTY
(1250–1371)

Earl Birger (Regent), 1250–66.
Waldemar (King), 1250–75.
Magnus Barn-Lock, 1275–90.
Torgils Knutsson (Regent), 1290–98.
Birger, 1290–1318.

Abel, 1250–52.
Christopher I, 1252–59.
Eric Klipping, 1259–86.
Eric Mœndved, 1286–1319.

Magnus the Law Mender, 1263–80.
Erik Priest Hater, 1280–99.
Hakon Highleg, 1299–1319.

THE FOLKUNG DYNASTY
(1319–71)

Magnus Eriksson, 1319–95.

Albrecht of Mecklenburg, 1364–89.

Margaret (Regent), 1389–1412.

Christopher II, 1319–32.
Civil war.
Valdemar Atterdag, 1340–75.
Olaf, 1376–87.
Margaret (Regent), 1376–1412.

Magnus Eriksson, 1319–55.

Hakon, 1355–80.

Olaf, 1380–87.
Margaret (Regent), 1380–1412.

THE UNION

SWEDEN	DENMARK
Engelbrekt, 1435–36.	Eric of Pomerania, 1396–1439.
Karl Knutsson, 1436–40.	Christopher, 1440–48.
Christopher, 1440–48.	
Karl Knutsson (King), 1448–57.	THE OLDENBURG DYNASTY
Christian I, 1457–64.	Christian I, 1448–81.
Karl Knutsson, 1467–70.	
Sten Sture the Elder (Regent), 1470–1503.	Hans, 1481–1513.
(Hans, 1497–1501.)	
Svante Sture (Regent), 1503–12.	
Sten Sture the Younger (Regent), 1512–20.	Christian II, 1513–23.
Christian II, 1520–21.	
THE VASA DYNASTY	
Gustaf I (Regent), 1521–23; (King) 1523–60.	Frederick I, 1523–33.
	Christian III, 1534–59.
Erik XIV, 1560–68.	Frederick II, 1559–88.
John III, 1568–92.	
Sigismund, 1592–99.	
Charles IX (Regent), 1599–1604; (King) 1604–11.	Christian IV, 1588–1648 (Regency to 1596).
Gustavus (II) Adolphus, 1611–32.	
Christina, 1632–54.	Frederick III, 1648–70.
Charles X Gustavus, 1654–60.	Christian V, 1670–99.
Charles XI, 1660–97.	Frederick IV, 1699–1730.
Charles XII, 1697–1718.	Christian VI, 1730–46.
Frederick I, 1720–51.	Frederick V, 1746–66.
Adolphus Frederick, 1751–71.	Christian VII, 1766–1808.
Gustavus III, 1771–92.	
Gustavus IV Adolphus, 1792–1809.	
Charles XIII, 1809–18.	Frederick VI, 1808–39.

SWEDEN	DENMARK
THE BERNADOTTE DYNASTY.	
Charles XIV John (Bernadotte), 1818–44.	Christian VIII, 1839–48.
Oskar I, 1844–59.	Frederick VII, 1848–63.
Charles XV, 1859–72.	Christian IX, 1863–1906.
Oskar II, 1872–1907.	Frederick VIII, 1906–12.
Gustavus V, 1907–	Christian X, 1912–

NORWAY

Haakon VII, 1905–

INDEX

Aabo, Åbo, peace of, 300–301
Abel, King of Denmark, 29
Absalon, 21–25
Adam of Bremen, 6, 16, 159, 171
Adlercreutz, 322, 324
Adlersparre, 323, 326
Adolphus Frederick, King of Sweden, 300–303
Aelnoth, 19
Alban, St., 16, 17,18
Albrecht, King of Sweden, 190–192
Althing, 154–155, 165
Altmark, truce of, 252
Altranstädt, peace of, 289
Anjala conspiracy, 314–316
Ansgar, 4–5, 172
Arason, Jón, 163
Aros, Arus, Aarhus, 7, 16
Asser, Archbishop, 18–19

Banér, 271–272
Berlin, peace of, 133–134
Bernadotte (Charles XIV, John), 326–335
Bernstorff, A. P., 109–111
Bernstorff, J. H. E., 96–97
Birca, 5, 172
Birger, Earl, 180–181
Birgitta, St., 187–188
Bobrikoff, 350–354
Borgå, district of, 347
Bornholm, 282
Branting, 339
Breitenfeld, battle of, 258–260
Brömsebro, peace of, 78

Caroline Matilda, 100–104, 106–108
Catherine II, 303, 306, 311, 313, 314, 317, 320
Charles IX, 237–241
Charles X, Gustavus, 275–281
Charles XI, 281–286
Charles XII, xi, 287–297
Charles XIII, 324, 326
Charles XIV, John, *see* Bernadotte
Charles XV, 336–337
Christian I, 44–46
Christian II, 47–62
Christian III, 63–68
Christian IV, 73–79
Christian V, 85–86
Christian VI, 93–95
Christian VII, 99–108
Christian VIII, 123–128
Christian IX, 138–147
Christian X, 150
Christina, Queen of Sweden, 270, 272–273, 274–275
Christopher I, 29–30
Christopher II, 33
Christopher of Bavaria, 44
Cnut the Great, 9–13
Cnut, St., King of Denmark, 17–18
Cnut Lavard, 19–20, 24
Cnut VI, 24–25
Copenhagen, 23–24, 43, 44, 46, 60, 61, 64, 74, 89, 92, 111, 148, 280, 282

Dalecarlia, Dalecarlians, 198–200, 205, 208, 301, 315

Danebrog, Dannebrog, 26
Danes, 3
Dantzic, 250
Denmark, 4
Dicuil, 153
Dybböl, 141
Dyveke, 47–49

Ebbesen, Nils, 33
Eider, 4, 26, 131
Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson, 192–194
England, 7, 17, 35, 46, 109–118, 293–296, 322, 336
Eric Emune, 20, 21
Eric the Evergood, 18
Eric XIV, 225–233
Eric Klipping, 30–31
Eric Lamb, 20
Eric Mœndved, 31–32
Eric Plogpenning, 29
Eric of Pomerania, 192–194
Eric, St., King of Sweden, 177–178
Eskil, Archbishop, 20, 22
Esthonia, Esthonians, vi, 26, 27, 34, 227, 238, 297
Estrup, 146

Fehrbellin, battle of, 282
Finland, ix, xiv, 177, 180, 183, 185, 236, 246, 292, 297, 300–301, 312, 314, 322–325, 338, 347–359
Fredericia, battle of, 133
Frederick I, Denmark, 60–63
Frederick I, Sweden, 298–301
Frederick II, 69–72
Frederick III, 80–86
Frederick IV, 90–93
Frederick V, 95–97
Frederick VI, 109–121
Frederick VII, 129–137
Frederick VIII, 147–149
Frederiksborg, peace of, 92, 296
Frederikshald, siege of, 295
Frederikshamn, peace of, 325

George I, 293–294
Goertz, Baron, 294–295
Gorm, King of Denmark, 6
Gothenburg, 74, 315
Grand, Jens, Archbishop, 32
Griffenfeld, xii, 83–87
Gustavus I, Vasa, 197–224
Gustavus (II) Adolphus, 242–269
Gustavus III, 305–318
Gustavus IV, 319–324
Gustavus V, 343–344
Gyllenstierna, Johan, 284

Hamburg, 5, 6, 26
Harald Bluetooth, 6–7
Hartha-Cnut, 14
Hedeby, *see* Slesvig
Heligoland, battle of, 141
Helsingborg, battle of, 292
Helsingfors, 349, 352
Horn, Count Arvid, 299

Iceland, x, xi, xv–xvi, 74, 118, 123, 148
Ingeborg, Queen of France, 25
Ingria, 297
Isted, battle of, 133

John III, 232–236
Jönköping, peace of, 325
Jutland, 9, 16, 28, 33, 59, 64, 251

Kalmar, Union, vi–vii, 40–41, 44; war of Kalmar, 75
Kardis, peace of, 282
Karlstad Conference, 342
Kiel, treaty of, 118, 120, 131, 331
Klissow, battle of, 288
Knutsson, Karl, 193–195

Lech, battle of, 262
Leszcynski, Stanislaus, 289, 292
Livonia, 282, 288, 313
Lübeck, 63, 64, 77, 220
Lund, 11, 18, 22, 177, (battle of) 283, (peace of) 284
Lützen, battle of, 264–266

Magdeburg, 256–257
Magnus Ericsson, 185–190
Magnus Ladulås, 181–182
Magnússon, Árni, 164
Margaret, Queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, 37–43
Mechelin Leo, 355

Nansen, Hans, Burgomaster, 81
Napoleon, 321, 327–330
Narva, battle of, 288
Nelson, ix, 112–113, 321
Nördlingen, battle of, 271
Norway, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 47, 60, 66–67, 116, 122–123, 330–333
November Treaty, the, 336
Nystad, peace of, 297

Olavus Petri, 210–212
Oliva, peace of, 281
Olkijoki, convention of, 323
Oluf, son of Queen Margaret, 37–39
Oscar I, 335–336
Oscar II, 337–343
Oxenstierna, Axel, 77, 252, 262, 267, 270–274

Paris, treaty of, 336
Patkul, 287, 289
Persson, Göran, 228
Peter the Great, 288–294
Poland, 9, 235, 241, 246, 248, 250, 252, 276–278, 280–281, 288–289
Poltava, battle of, 291
Pomerania, 24, 255, 274, 303, 325, 329–330
Prague, treaty of, 142–143
Pruth, peace of, 292

Rantzau, 71
Reuterholm, 319–320
Reval, 26
Reykjavik, 165, 167
Ribe, Ripe, 5, 7, 9, 16, 45
Roskilde, 10, 11, 16, 21, 23, (peace of) 279
Rügen, 23, 27, 118, 255
Russia, 172, 178, 221, 241, 245, 246, 282, 288–297, 300, 301, 312–314, 316–317, 322, 325, 334, 336

Saxo, 6, 25
Scania, 9, 16, 35–36, 189
Schumacher, *see* Griffenfeld
Sigbrit, 47, 49–50, 59
Sigismund I, 236–239
Sigurdsson, Jon, 166–168
Slesvig (and Holstein), xiii–xiv, 37, 42, 45, 46, 67, 89, 92, 120, 123–145
Slesvig (or Hedeby, the town), 5, 19, 29, 132 (battle of)
Staaff, 339, 343
Stenbock, Magnus, 292
Stockholm, 51, 181, 191–192, 201–204, 254, 296, 308, 317
Stolbova, peace of, 246
Stralsund, 251, 293, 321
Struensee, 101–107
Sture, 50, 195
Sturluson, Snorri, 13, 158, 171, 175
Sveaborg, 322
Sven Forkbeard, 7
Sven Estrithson, 14–17
Svensksund, battle of, 317
Sverdrup, Johan, 339–340

Thyri, Queen of Denmark, 6
Tilly, 253, 257–262
Torgils Cnutsson, 182–183, 259
Torstensson, Lennart, 78, 272–273
Travendal, peace of, 288
Trolle, Gustavus, Archbishop, 50–57, 200–203

Ulfeld, Korfits, 77, 80, 84, 279
Uppsala, 171, 173, 175

Vadstena, 188, 193, 202
Vaerings, 173

Valdemar I, the Great, 20–24
Valdemar II, the Victorious, 25–28
Valdemar Atterdag, 34–37
Valdemar, King of Sweden, 180–183
Vārālā, peace of, 317
Viborg Gauntlet, battle of, 317
Vienna, peace of, 142, 143
Visby, 182, 189

Wallenstein, 76–77, 256, 262–266
Warsaw, battle of, 277
Wends, vi, 23
Westphalia, peace of, 274

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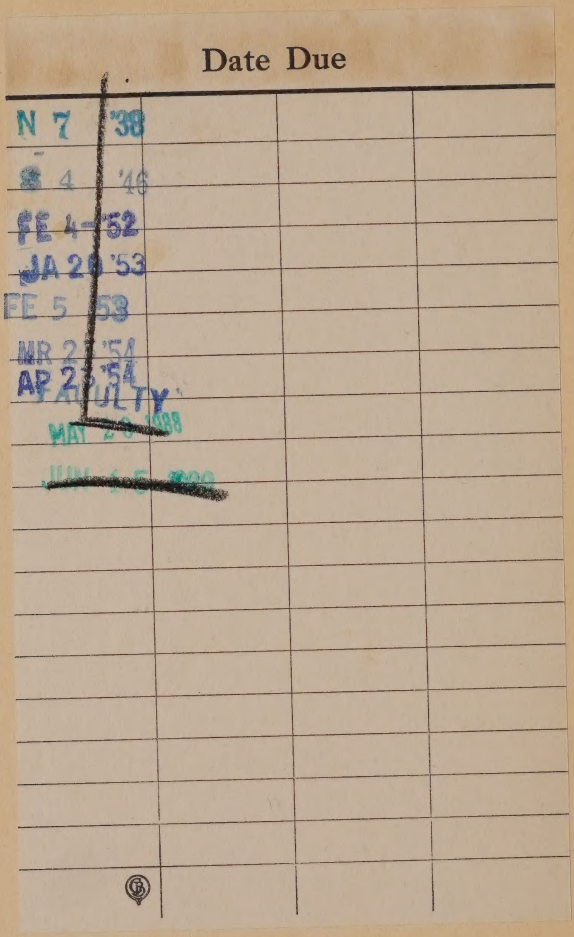
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